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Shields of England and Cornwall, c. 1268.

LEOPARDS OF ENGLAND

And other Papers on Heraldry

By

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LONDON

CONSTABLE & COMPANY, LIMITED

1913

INTRODUCTION

THE first article in this collection is offered rather for the instruction of ordinary folk who wish to know something about the history of the royal arms than for the consideration of advanced students of armory. It is not claimed for it that it contains anything that is new, or indeed anything that cannot be gleaned with a little trouble from printed books and a study of armorial seals. It is hoped, however, that it may be found to set forth the reasons of the changes that have been made from time to time in the arms of the sovereigns of England at somewhat greater detail than in some of the handbooks on heraldry. To that extent it may perhaps advance some slight pre-

tensions to originality. The drawings of shields which illustrate it are by the writer.

The paper on the King's Beasts at Hampton Court is a plain and matter-of-fact statement of the most important piece of heraldic restoration that has been attempted in this country in recent years. This account of it owes such archæological value as it possesses to the facts that I have borrowed from an article "On the Stone Bridge at Hampton Court" by Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., read before the Society in 1910 and published in "Archæologia," second series, volume xii. I have to thank Messrs. Farmer and Brindley for allowing me to illustrate my paper with blocks made from the admirable photographs which they took of the carvings before they left their studio.

The remaining articles are perhaps of rather more technical character. That on the font at Holt was written

at the request of my friend Mr. John Paul Rylands, F.S.A., for the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. My best thanks are due to that Society for their permission to republish it, and to Messrs. Ballantyne, Hanson & Company for the loan of the blocks that illustrate it.

This paper is an attempt, as is also that on the Nevill shields at Salisbury, to throw some light on a problem which confronts every student of ancient armory, the question, namely, whether the arms which we have been taught to regard as the arms of great lords should not more properly be considered as those of great lordships, whether in fact the arms that were displayed by the feudal nobility were not territorial rather than personal. I do not conceal my own belief that the weight of evidence is heavy on the territorial side, and though I am well aware that that opinion is widely regarded as heretical, I hope

that this expression of it may induce others at least to consider it.

The other papers have already appeared in "The Ancestor," whose publishers, Messrs. Archibald Constable & Company, have kindly given me permission to reprint them here. The illustrations for these papers were made by myself. Those for the article on Canting Arms in the Zürich Roll are reproduced in the outline form in which they were given originally in "The Ancestor." The drawings of the pieces of armorial glass that are here dealt with have also appeared in that review.

E. E. D.

Kew, 1912.

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LEOPARDS OF ENGLAND

THE heraldry of the middle ages is a mass of conventions. Its language and its art, its laws and its symbols are all in the strictest sense conventional, and the lion, the most famous of all its symbols, is no exception either in nomenclature or in the form of its representation to that universal rule. Those royal beasts in the arms of the king of England, which we who name them are accustomed to speak of as "the English lions," were in the middle ages styled "leopards of England" alike by Englishmen and by foreigners; and it will perhaps be not amiss if in these notes we follow the ancient example given by the men who devised that wonderful thing which we call heraldry.

We may grant at least that they knew what they were talking about when they gave such and such names to such and such objects which they had invented; and we may perhaps attain to something of the simplicity and directness which made the great charm of mediaeval armory if we revert to their ways of naming things.

In the very early days of armory there were only two ways of representing the king of beasts. In process of time as heraldic art developed the armorists invented other ways of picturing him, and gave him, perforce, names that grew more and more mysterious and unintelligible. It is curious, however, that in all the large variety of forms that the royal arms assumed in the course of more than seven hundred years you shall only find the two earliest forms of the lion.

Only two; and those two express exactly the two chief characteristics of

the lion as the old heralds visualized him. The first is his fierceness; and to represent that simply and conventionally and with utmost economy of line, in order that all men who saw him painted on shield or embroidered on coat and banner might recognize him as "lion," they drew him side-faced, erect and rampant, his mouth open, his claws fiercely extended, and his tail angrily lashing, and withal with a fine sense of proportion to make him fit the shield-shape. That, they considered, was the proper and natural position of a lion, so "a lion" they called him.

The other characteristic is the stealthy, crouching, gliding gait of the beast as he advances to the attack; and to show that side of his nature they drew him long and sinuous, walking on three feet with one fore-paw raised and with his face turned to the spectator; making him within those limits of such form as should give him his proper share

in the design. That beast they called "a leopard." They knew nothing for such nice refinements of language as the "passant" and the "guardant" with which we have dowered him. "Leopard" was good enough name for them, and so they styled him when they drew him in the shield of king or noble.

A leopard of England, then, is a golden lion walking and full-faced on a red field; and for more than seven centuries three such beasts have been the recognized bearings of the English kings. They have been associated with other devices at various periods, as our shields shall show; but since the days of that great and vigorous house of Anjou, which gave so many sovereigns to England, the three golden leopards have marched in their shield as the heraldic symbol of our kings.

"But why three?" is perhaps asked, "why three leopards for England?"; and tradition is ready with an answer.

It is said, gravely enough, that the kings of the Norman line — William the Conqueror and his sons, William Rufus and Henry I—bore the arms of the duchy of Normandy, Gules two leopards gold. That was certainly the shield of the Norman duchy in the middle ages ; but since heraldry was not, so to speak, codified and did not assume the fashion that we know until the middle of the twelfth century, and the third of those Norman kings died in 1135, they cannot so have borne arms. However, that is the tradition, and the heralds of the later time were not slow to make the most of it.

Perhaps Henry II, who ascended the English throne in 1154, did carry the arms of Normandy. Perhaps there is some truth in the story that to the two leopards he added a third, that third being the single leopard on a red field, which we are told was borne for her duchy of Aquitaine by his wife Eleanor.

But whether it is true or not there is naught certain to tell us. It is a simpler and a more reasonable thing to believe that the three long stripes of the passant leopards make a more beautiful pattern on a shield than two or one or four or five, and that the king deliberately chose the mystic three as the most excellent and the most convenient number. We shall see presently how the French heraldic genius and sense of fitness arrived at the same conclusion.

It is not until we come to the reign of Richard I, who reigned from 1189 to 1199, that we reach a date when it can be said definitely that the first of our illustrations shows the arms of the king of England. But even Richard did not show on his earliest seal this shield for his kingdom of England. The obverse of his first great seal shows him in the usual way seated on his throne, clad in his robes of state with crown and sceptre and sword, and on either side of his

throne a sprig of the broom-plant, "planta genista," which was the famous badge of his house. On the reverse of that seal King Richard is seen armed on his galloping war-horse, having on his shield a lion—not a leopard, but a lion—which seems to suggest that at the beginning of his reign, at any rate, the leopards of England had not yet become stereotyped as the arms of the king.

But in 1198, the last year of his reign, when Richard had come home after his release from captivity in Germany, it was found that the first great seal had gone astray. A new seal was ordered to be cut, and on it is seen for the first time the shield of the three leopards. That is not to say that it has not been borne before 1198 by English kings. It is hard to believe that they had waited for half a century before assuming definite arms for themselves. The weight of tradition not less than of probability is all on the other side of the scale; but

at any rate we have no earlier example of these famous arms than this display of them by Richard I in the year before his death. He is the first king of whom we can say definitely that he bore the three golden leopards on a red field; and they were borne without any variation by Richard's evil brother John, and by his successors, Henry III and the first three Edwards, until the thirteenth year of Edward III (Fig. 1).

In that year, 1340, the first change was made in the arms of the king by the introduction of new devices. We have come now to the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, a struggle which endured for just a century and drained England and France of blood and treasure incalculable. That war was nominally due to a dynastic dispute, but the actual determining causes of it were without doubt Edward's jealousy of France, and his dread of her overwhelming ascendancy in Europe. Gen-

eral Wrottesley, in a fine passage,[1] has sketched "the military and political state of Europe at this period. Germany was divided into a number of petty states, and rent into two hostile factions by the periodical election of an emperor.

"Italy consisted of a number of small principalities and independent republics, usually at war with one another, or divided by intestine feuds and jealousies.

"More than one-third of Spain was occupied by the Moors, and the remainder of the country was divided into the three minor kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre.

"Amid this congery of petty states, France stood supreme—a central body of military and political power, without a rival, and holding in her grasp, as it were, a French pope at Avignon, who

[1] "Crecy and Calais," p. 281, by Maj.-Gen. Hon. George Wrottesley, London, 1898.

though subject more or less to the French kings, yet exercised a powerful dominion over the whole of Europe.

"For a hundred years or more the predominance of France had not been questioned."

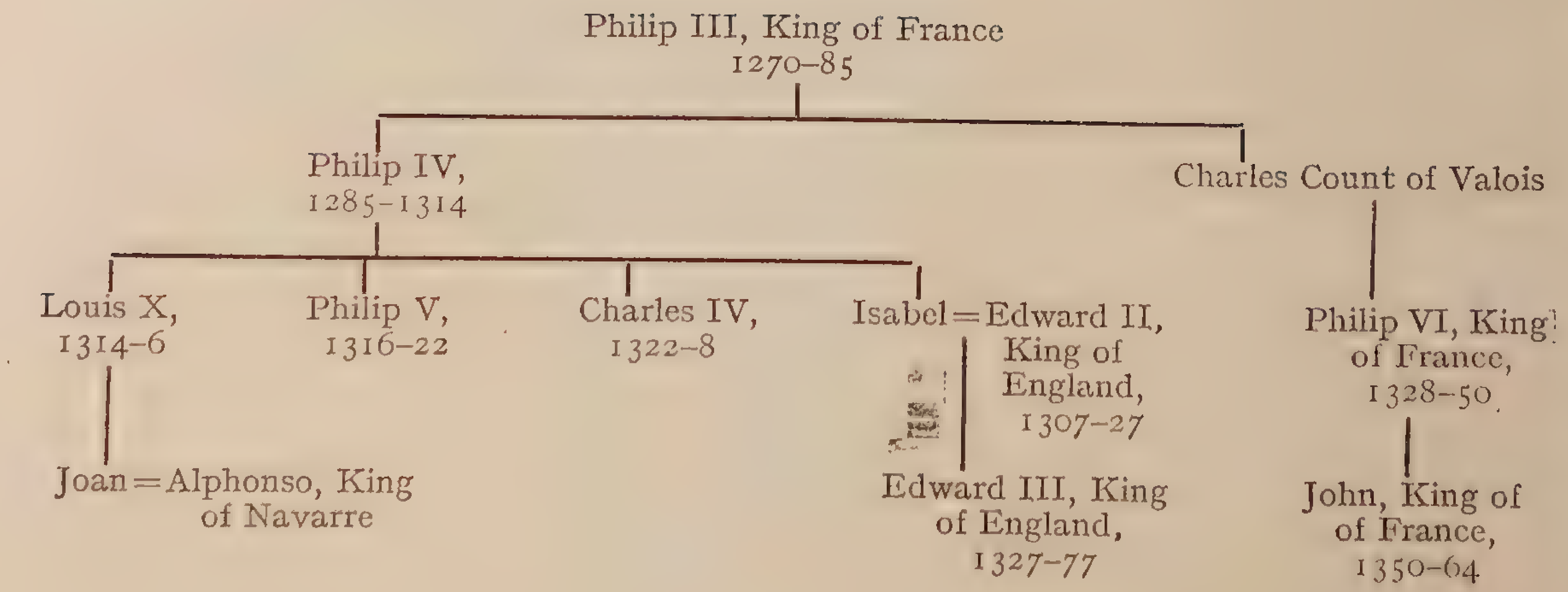
But the great line of rulers that Hugh Capet had founded was nearly worn out, and France was less strong and united than she seemed.

Philip IV, dying in 1314, left three sons who successively ruled France as Louis X, Philip V and Charles IV, and a daughter Isabel, who was wife of Edward II of England. Those three kings died within fifteen years ; none of them left male issue, and when Charles IV died in 1328 his heir was his niece, Joan Queen of Navarre. She, however, according to French law, was held to be as incapable as her aunt Isabel of succeeding to the empty throne. But indeed the throne of France was not empty for long. It was seized by Philip

of Valois, son of the brother of Philip IV, who, one year after Edward III had succeeded to the crown of England, became king of France as Philip VI, and founded the dynasty of the Valois who were to rule France for two centuries and a half.

But Edward of England boldly asserted that though French law prevented his mother Isabel from succeeding, it did not prevent himself, her son and heir, and that consequently he, as the nearest male in blood to the late king, Charles IV, was the rightful king of France. Or to put it in another way, he declared that his claim to the French crown as the son of Philip IV's daughter was better than that of Philip of Valois, Philip IV's brother's son. The pedigree on the next page will explain more clearly than words this tangle of relationships.

The dispute dragged on for several years. No one knew better than Ed-


Philip III, King of France
1270–85
Philip IV,
1285–1314
Charles Count of Valois
Louis X,
1314–6
Philip V,
1316–22
Charles IV,
1322–8
Isabel = Edward II,
King of
England,
1307–27
Philip VI, King
of France,
1328–50
Joan = Alphonso, King
of Navarre
Edward III, King
of England,
1327–77
John, King of
of France,
1350–64



1. England, 1198—1340



2. Old France

ward that his birth would never give him the French crown in the face of Philip's actual possession of it ; but he was jealous and fearful of France, ambition and passion spurred him on, and all Europe knew that his claim was only a pretext for war. There was, nevertheless, a certain genealogical force in his claim, and by way of giving greater weight to it he in 1340 styled himself king of France, as did all his successors till George III abandoned the empty title in 1801, quartering with the leopards of England the arms of Azure powdered with golden fleurs de lis, which were the ensign of the French king (Fig. 2).

The student will observe the effect of the heraldic process of powdering. Shields such as this, wherein a relatively small charge is many times repeated in a regularly designed pattern, present the appearance of being cut out of a larger surface, with the

result that while the field contains a certain number of whole examples of the charge, it also contains several portions of it towards the edges. It is true that instances of the old arms of France are not wanting in which the powdering is expressed by an indefinite number of whole fleurs de lis (see below, p. 63), but by the time at which Edward III was making his claim this method of representing them by showing some whole lilies and parts of some others had come into general use.

Edward III then, in 1340, took to himself the title of king of France, and the quartered shield of Old France and England that he assumed in sign of it remained the arms of the kings of England until the year 1405 (Fig. 3). Edward bore them for the rest of his reign, and his banner of Old France and England flamed above the English ranks at Crecy and before the walls of Calais. Eustace de St. Pierre and his devoted

companions saw it when they came forth from the conquered town with the ropes about their necks, and the sight of it must have added a pang to the sorrow of those proud men. On that September day nine years later, when the Black Prince tumbled King John's army into ruin in the narrow road at Poitiers, the king's banner of the lilies and leopards with the prince's silver label athwart it waved above the main battle of the English down among the vines. And then, as the tide of war turned and the great Du Guesclin gradually forced the English back to the sea, there was by the year 1374 no spot of French ground where it showed itself save at Calais and Bayonne and Bordeaux, and a few towns on the Dordogne.

Many have been puzzled to account for the placing of the blue and gold of France in the first and most important quarter of this reconstituted shield of the king of England. I have seen it

stated—on what authority I know not—that King Edward did at first place the leopards of England in the first quarter, whereupon the French king, Philip, remonstrated, saying in effect that he did not so much mind Edward quartering the arms of France, since his mother was a French princess, but that he really must protest against the English king setting the first quarter of his arms with the leopards before the quarter with the lilies. "It doth grieve us much," he said, "making apparent to the beholders that the little isle of England is to be preferred before the great realm of France." However that may be, the men of the middle ages saw, after the capture of John of France at the battle of Poitiers, nothing to question in Edward's bearing of the lilies of France, for it was a principle of the law of arms that if any man were made prisoner of war his arms with all else that he had became the just prize of his captor.



3. 1340—1405



4. France

The old arms of France, quartered with the arms of the king of England, were borne by Edward III and his grandson and successor. That king, the unhappy Richard II, was deposed in 1399, and was succeeded by his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke, the founder of the Lancastrian line.

For the first few years of his reign Henry IV bore the same quartered shield as his two predecessors, but in 1405 he made the next change in the royal arms. Thirty years earlier the French king, Charles V, had altered the powdered fleurs de lis of his arms to three, and had devised what is, as some think, the most beautiful shield in the heraldry of Europe (Fig. 4). He gave a pious reason for the change; he did it, he said, "pour symboliser la Sainte Trinité," but it is probable that the real reason was more prosaic. It is more likely that he desired, while keeping the golden fleurs de lis as the characteristic

French emblem, to differentiate his arms of France from those displayed by his vainglorious neighbour across the Channel, and it will be readily seen that they have the further heraldic advantage of being simpler and more easily visible than the older form.

Now Richard II, Henry of England's cousin and predecessor, had himself married as his second wife a French princess, Isabel, the daughter of Charles VI, and had displayed in sign of that alliance his own arms of Old France quartered with England (Fig. 3), impaling the new French arms with the three fleurs de lis (Fig. 4); and some have thought that this impalement suggested to Henry IV the form that the arms of France should assume in his own shield.

It is to be remembered too that he styled himself king of France as well as of England, and the French quarters that he bore at his accession had been

obsolete for more than a quarter of a century ; or perhaps he, as the founder of a new line, desired to make some change between his own arms of kingship and those of the man whom he had displaced. Whatever may have been the reason, Henry IV had been reigning for nearly six years before he made the change. It took effect in 1405, and for just on two centuries—from 1405 to 1603 to be precise—France quartered with England (Fig. 5) were the arms of all the English sovereigns of the houses of Lancaster, York and Tudor.

Think for a moment of the events that those splendid arms have witnessed. They were at Agincourt, and they saw the flower of the chivalry of France advance, and pause, and then break in fragments under the pitiless rain of the English arrows. In the years that followed they saw France crushed and dying in the dust, and roused at length to life again by the

magic of the personality of a peasant girl. They led now one side and now another all through the lingering agony of the Wars of the Roses. They flaunted their pride amid the luxury and the splendour of the Tudors while modern England was in the making. They watched with jealous anger the rise and the pretensions of Spain ; and the great seamen of Elizabeth's days, Drake and Grenville,Raleigh and Hawkins, Howard and Frobisher, took them into all the seven seas. They watched the great half-moon of the Armada come threatening up the Channel to challenge England's mastery of the sea, and they saw its power break and crumble till it vanished amid the storms and the rocks of the north.

The kings who bore these renowned arms had royal titles which varied slightly from time to time. Henry IV retained the style which Edward III and Richard II had borne, calling him-



5. 1405—1603



6. Scotland

self king of England and France and duke of Ireland. Henry V had the same style until the eighth year of his reign, when he assumed the title of king of England, heir and regent of France, and lord of Ireland. Henry VI took the style of king of England and France and lord of Ireland, which title was borne by his successors, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III and Henry VII. Henry VIII, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, was styled by Parliament king of England, France and Ireland, which use was followed by his successors, Edward VI, Mary [1] and Elizabeth.

In 1603 the dynasty of the Tudors came to its end. Not one single member of the old reigning houses was left alive. The house of Lancaster was

[1] Mary, after her marriage with Philip II of Spain, combined his titles with her own, and they reigned together as Philip and Mary, King and Queen of England and France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy and Brabant, etc.

extinct; Edward of York and his brother Richard Crookback had seen to that. The house of York had utterly perished; Henry VIII had made sure of that when old Margaret of Clarence was dragged shrieking to the block on Tower Hill. Of the direct line of the Tudors there was no survivor. But England and the kingship of England endures. The life of the nation has to go on though the kings shall die; and scarcely was the body of Elizabeth lying cold, than Scottish James, the son of her lifelong enemy, was safely seated on her throne, and Stewart had succeeded to Tudor.

Those who have forgotten what they learned in their history books at school sometimes wonder why it was that England had to turn to Scotland to find a king. We have indeed to go back a good way in history to find the reason.

John of Gaunt, the fourth son of

Edward III, was, as we know, the root from whence sprang the house of Lancaster. From his first marriage descended the three Henries of that stock, and with the weak, blind, mad Henry VI their line died out. To them succeeded the kings of the house of York, Edward IV, his little son Edward V, and his brother Richard III, who came off Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of Edward III. The Welsh family of Tudor, who came next to the throne, descended through another line from Edward III. John of Gaunt had by his mistress Katherine Swynford, a bastard son John Beaufort, born about 1375, who was legitimated and created earl of Somerset in 1397. He was followed by his two sons, Henry, the second earl of the house, who died under age in 1418, and John, the third earl, who was created duke of Somerset in 1443, only a few months before his death. Duke John had an only daughter Margaret,

who became the wife of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the eldest son of Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, and Katherine of Valois, Henry V's "fair flower-de-luce." The son of Edmund Tudor and Lady Margaret Beaufort was Henry of Richmond, who after he had defeated Richard III at Bosworth Field, where the king was killed, ascended the throne as Henry VII.

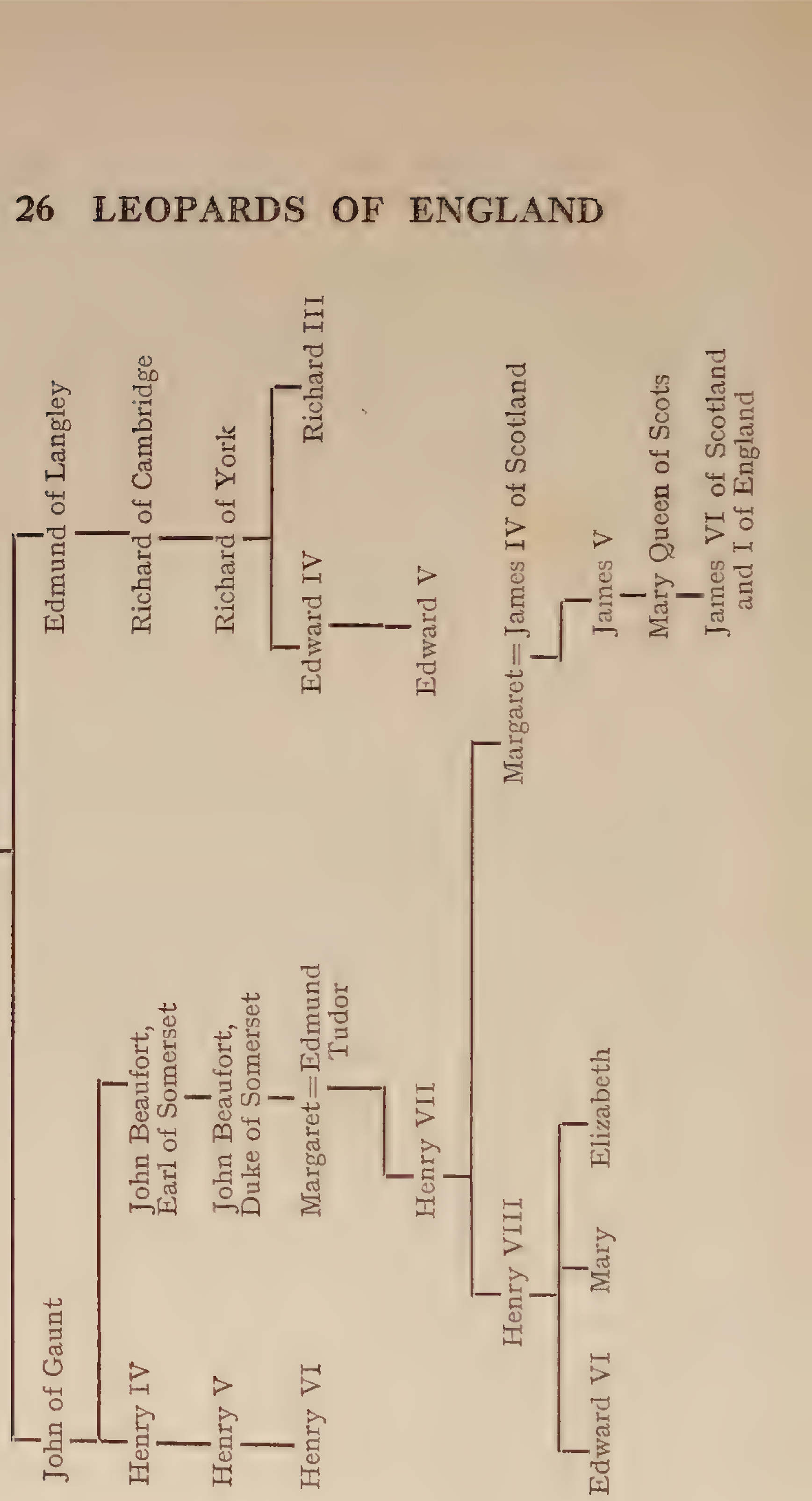
No one knew better than this king of a new line that his title to the crown of England was but little better than that of the sword; but he was shrewd enough to make the most of that strain of Lancastrian blood that ran in his veins, and to make his title surer he married Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter and only surviving child of King Edward IV. They had with other children a son, Henry, who became king as Henry VIII, and was succeeded in turn by his three children, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, who all died child-

less, and a daughter, Margaret, wife of James IV, King of Scotland.

The heirship presumptive of the Tudor sovereigns thus passed to the royal family of Scotland; for failing issue of Henry VIII's children some one or other of Queen Margaret's descendants was next in the line of succession. James IV and Margaret had a son James, who became James V of Scotland. His daughter, the lovely and ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded him, leaving a son, James VI of Scotland, who at the death of Elizabeth in 1603 was acknowledged as her successor to the crown of England.

This long and involved genealogical story becomes plainer by the aid of the skeleton pedigree overleaf.

James VI of Scotland thus became James I of England; and, adding to the royal style of his immediate predecessor that of his own kingdom, he bore the title of king of England, Scot-


Edward III
John of Gaunt
Henry IV
Henry V
Henry VI
Edmund of Langley
Richard of Cambridge
Richard of York
Richard III
Edward IV
Edward V
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset
John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset
Margaret = Edmund Tudor
Margaret = James IV of Scotland
James V
Mary Queen of Scots
James VI of Scotland and I of England
Henry VII
Henry VIII
Edward VI
Mary
Elizabeth

land, France and Ireland. It was necessary at this juncture to add new devices to the royal arms by way of exemplifying the added dignity, and it was obvious that the ancient arms of Scotland must be introduced. These are Gold a lion in a double tressure counterflowered gules (Fig. 6), a shield which appears first on the seal of King Alexander II (1215–1249). The student will observe the method in which that characteristic device of the Scottish tressure is constructed. It is formed of two narrow concentric voided scutcheons following the line of the shield, and enriched with fleurs de lis having their heads and stalks pointing alternately inwards and outwards, the field being visible the whole way round between the two narrow lines of red. The number of the fleurs de lis is immaterial, but it must necessarily be always an even number. There is scarcely in the whole range of armory a more beautiful charge

than the Scottish tressure; there is certainly not one which presents greater difficulties to the draughtsman.

King James was the first English monarch who incorporated arms for the kingdom of Ireland into the shield of the sovereign. The arms themselves, Azure a harp gold with its strings silver (Fig. 7), had been already devised[1]; and the question of the order in which the quarters were to be placed in the new royal escutcheon solved itself readily as regards France and England, for the arms of the majesty of the southern kingdom were necessarily given the most important position. They were placed, quartered as they had been for two hundred years, in the first and fourth quarters of King James's arms; Scotland was given to the second quar-

[1] They are figured in MS. I, 2 at the College of Arms, once the property of John Cock, Lancaster Herald, (1559–1585), which from internal evidence has been assigned to a date between 1525 and 1533.



7. Ireland



8. The Stewarts

ter, Ireland to the third ; and thus (Fig. 8) the royal arms of the Stewart kings were displayed from 1603 until James II fled to France in 1688, and William Prince of Orange was elected king of England as William III.

Now King William III was not of the race of the English kings, although he was maternally of Stewart blood, his mother Mary being the daughter of Charles I, and he was himself the husband of the elder daughter of James II. But he was king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, having been so elected by Parliament; and in order to show that he was an elected king his own arms of Nassau, Azure powdered with billets gold and a lion gold (Fig. 9), were placed on a small scutcheon in the midst of the great quartered shield of the royal arms of the Stewarts. This arrangement (Fig. 10) was in use from 1688, the year of William's election, until 1702, the date of his death.

Queen Anne succeeded him, his wife, Queen Mary, having died eight years before her husband. The new queen being of the Stewart line, resumed the arms of her great-grandfather (Fig. 8), and for the first few years of her reign bore them as James I, Charles I, Charles II and James II had borne them. In 1706, the fifth year of her reign, the Act of Union with Scotland was passed, ordaining that from that time forward the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be united as the kingdom of Great Britain, the queen's title being queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

This act necessitated the next change in the royal arms. The arms of England and Scotland united by impalement were placed in the first and fourth quarters, France was deposed from the pride of place which it had held since 1405 and placed in the second quarter, Ireland being retained in its original



9. Nassau



10. William and Mary

position in the third; and it is a little curious that it was not until this shield was devised (Fig. 11) that the quarters of sovereignty are for the first time made to correspond with the order of the royal titles.

Queen Anne died in 1714, a childless widow, and the rule of the house of Stewart ceased. Her father, King James, was already dead, and though her brother James, the Old Pretender, claimed the throne, England would have none of him. The Succession Act of 1701 had settled that the crown, in the event of William and Mary and Anne dying childless, should pass to the Protestant issue of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, the granddaughter of James I. Here again we must go back for a few generations to see how it came about that at Anne's death a German prince became king of England.

James I's daughter Elizabeth was the wife of Frederick V of the house of Wit-

telsbach, elector of the Bavarian Palatinate. She had with other children an only daughter Sophia, who became the wife of Ernest Augustus of the Lüneburg branch of the house of Brunswick He was duke and elector of Hanover, and their only son George, who succeeded his father as elector in 1698, became king at the death of Queen Anne since she left no living issue.

The table on page 33 shows the succession of the Stewart sovereigns, and King George's descent from the founder of that line.

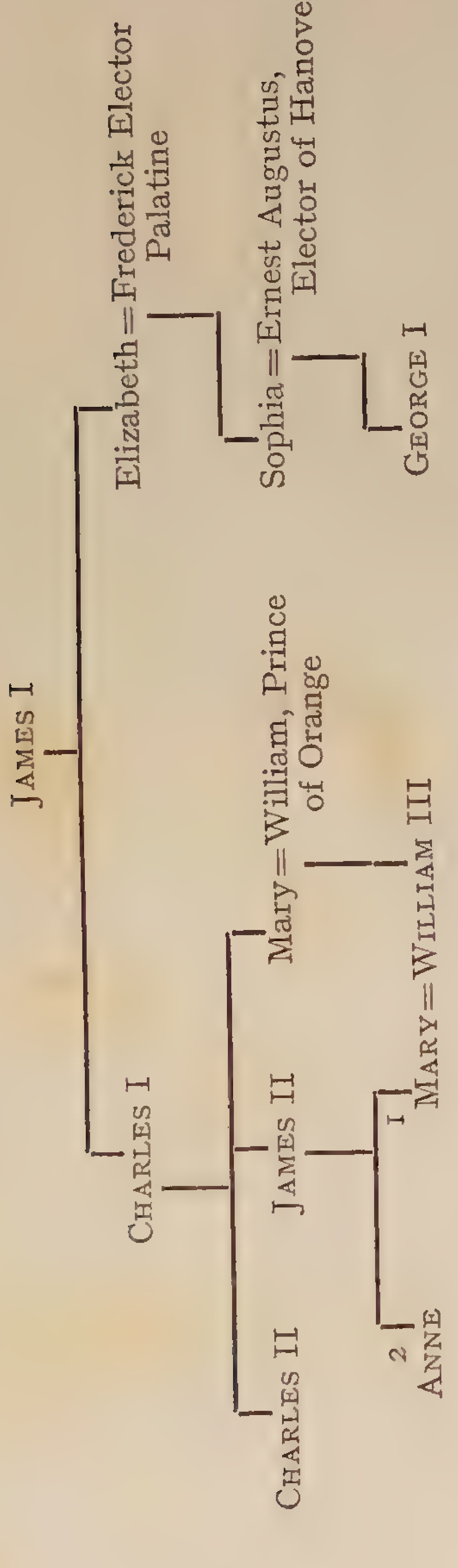
The accession of the new king in 1714 caused another change to be made in the royal arms. He was already elector of Hanover, and bore his hereditary arms of Brunswick, Gules two leopards gold, impaling Lüneburg, Gold powdered with hearts gules a lion azure, with a point in the foot of the shield of the arms of Westphalia, Gules a running horse silver, and over all a scutcheon,



11. Queen Anne



12. Hanover


James I
Elizabeth = Frederick Prince Elector Palatine
Charles I
Sophia = Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover
George I
Charles II
James II
Mary = William, Prince of Orange
2 Anne
1 Mary = William III

Gules the crown of Charlemagne gold, as the symbol of the archtreasureship of the Holy Roman Empire, which office he held as elector of Hanover (Fig. 12).

It will be seen by referring to the shield of Queen Anne (Fig. 11) that England and Scotland appear twice in that composition. The fourth quarter of the arms of dominion that were borne by her was therefore available for the inclusion of the hereditary arms of the new king, and there at King George's accession they were placed (Fig. 13).

This shield of arms remained in use as that of the kings of England from 1714 until 1801, being borne successively by George I, George II and George III with the style of king of Great Britain, France and Ireland and duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg until the year 1801, when a fresh change was made on account of a new alteration in the English constitution.



13. 1714—1800



14. 1801—181

Ireland had never been admitted to a share in the legislative economy of Great Britain; but in 1783, with a view to calming the unrest in the sister island, she was given a parliamentary constitution of her own. The experiment, however, proved fruitless, and in 1800 the Parliament of Ireland passed an act for the legislative union of the two countries, which act being confirmed by the British Parliament five weeks later, the Union was effected on January 1, 1801. In order to symbolize this constitutional change the royal style was changed to king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the ancient title of king of France being at length abandoned. An equally important alteration was made in the royal arms. France disappeared; England was placed in the first and fourth quarters, Scotland in the second, and Ireland retained that place in the third quarter which it had held since the accession of

James I. The arms of the electorate of Hanover, thus removed from the fourth quarter, were placed upon a scutcheon in the middle of the quartered arms of the United Kingdom with the hat of the elector above them (Fig. 14).

Fourteen years later the Congress of Vienna erected the electorate of Hanover into a kingdom, whereupon the elector's hat was changed into a royal crown (Fig. 15), and the arms so altered were borne by George III for the remainder of his reign, and by his two sons and successors, George IV and William IV, until the death of the last English king of the house of Brunswick in 1837.

In that year William IV's heir, the Princess Victoria, who was the only child of the king's next surviving brother, ascended the throne of the United Kingdom; but being unable according to the constitution of the kingdom of Hanover to rule in that country, the arms borne for it by her Brunswick



15. 1814—1837



16. From 1837

ancestors were removed, and her arms assumed the form in which we know them to-day (Fig. 16). No change has been made in them by her two successors, Edward VII and his present Majesty King George V, the first two sovereigns of the house of Saxe-Coburg.

THE KING'S BEASTS AT HAMPTON COURT

THE stone bridge across the moat at Hampton Court lately revealed in its ancient and dignified beauty and repaired in what is believed to be some approximation to its former state is, like many other parts of the great house as we know it, no part of the original design. The moat over which it carries a broad carriage way is indeed the work of Cardinal Wolsey, the designer and builder of the palace; but in his time it was spanned by a bridge, probably of timber, of which neither drawing nor trace is known to exist.

After the fall of the cardinal the house was taken into the hands of the king, and it became one of his favourite places of residence. Here he brought

Queen Anne Boleyn, and Hampton Court

was the scene of the last days of her queenship before the unhappy woman was hurried thence to execution in the Tower. Hard by Henry waited for the news of her death, and as soon as the couriers came spurring from London to tell him that he was free he married Jane Seymour, waiting as eagerly as he for the news of the death of her rival.

To a person of great designs and gorgeous conceptions such as King Henry the bridge that Wolsey had thrown across the moat was an inadequate thing, a structure that he must needs improve upon. Already in Anne's lifetime Wolsey's bridge had been condemned, and the building of the present magnificent structure had been begun; for in September of 1535 payment was made to John Richmond and Richard Aman, quarrymen at Headington in Oxfordshire, for six hundred tons of stone for the facing of the bridge (its core being of brick) "at xijd. the tonne."



The King's Leopard and the Queen's Unicorn

There are evidences in the building accounts of the steady progress of the building. In October in the following year the main work was completed, and by that time Henry had another queen. He had married Jane in May, 1536, and whatever may have been the original design for its completion, the king evidently determined that his bridge should commemorate his marriage with the daughter of the Seymours. Orders were given for the carving of the king's and the queen's beasts with shields to stand upon the bridge. Harry Corant of the neighbouring town of Kingston was the carver of six beasts, a bull, a greyhound, a dragon, a unicorn, a lion and a panther bearing the king's arms and the queen's at a cost of 26 shillings apiece; Richard Ridge of the same town made other six, a yale, a unicorn, a dragon, a lion, a greyhound and a panther with shields at the same price. Henry's bridge, with its array of royal

heraldry, stood until about the year 1691, when during the alterations to the palace made by King William III the upper part of the bridge, its parapets with their pinnacles and beasts and shields, were thrown down, the moat was filled in, and what remained of the bridge was covered up with soil.

Its existence was not forgotten, but nothing more was seen of it until 1872, when part of it was laid bare for a while and then again covered up. It was not until 1909, when Mr. Harcourt was First Commissioner of Works, that the moat was once more cleared and the main fabric of the bridge was found to be perfect and entire after its long burial of more than two centuries.

But the destruction of William III's time had been so thorough that of the pinnacles and the ornaments that topped them no more was found than one embattled capital, a fragment of a dragon's wing, a good sized piece of a unicorn's

head, and nearly the whole of one shield. The size and shape of the pinnacles were indicated clearly enough by the stumps of octagonal shafts rising from the cutwaters of the bridge, and still in place, as well as by the capital found among the rubbish in the moat ; and a comparison with the pinnacles which profusely adorn other parts of the palace was sufficient to determine the relative height that the new pinnacles should have. It only remained to place upon them a series of beasts and shields in accordance with the ancient directions, the size of these being governed by the fragment of the unicorn's head and the shield which had been found.

Sir Schomberg Macdonell, the Secretary of His Majesty's Office of Works, entrusted the present writer with the pleasant task of designing the new beasts and shields ; and after consultation with the secretary and Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., Inspector of Ancient

Monuments, it was decided what these should be.

It will be remembered that in King Henry's design twelve beasts were to stand upon the bridge, two lions, two unicorns, two greyhounds, two panthers, two dragons, a yale and a bull. Presuming that six of these belonged to the king and a like number to Queen Jane, a very slight acquaintance with Tudor heraldry was enough to assure the consultants that of these twelve the two dragons, the two greyhounds, the bull and one of the lions were certainly king's beasts, while the two unicorns, the two panthers and the second lion must with equal certainty be assigned to his queen. The yale was still unappropriated; but on the not unnatural presumption; that half of the number of the beasts were the king's and the other half the queen's, and that the number of the shields which they held was also equally divided, it was



THE QUEEN'S PANTHER AND THE KING'S DRAGON

decided that the yale might for present purposes be regarded as a queen's beast. But not without hesitation, for it was remembered that the yale was a supporter of the Beauforts from whom King Henry descended, as well as of Henry Fitzroy, the bastard son of the king, who was created duke of Richmond and Somerset in 1525.

Of all these beasts the king's lion is naturally the most familiar, since it was clearly the crowned and rampant leopard that has been the principal supporter of the English kings since Henry VIII's days. The Welsh dragon had been adopted as one of his supporters by Henry VII, and it was used by all the sovereigns of his house, the three kings colouring it red, while Mary and Elizabeth made it gold. The use of the greyhound was also due to Henry VII, who had a peculiar fondness for this beast, using it almost invariably as the sinister supporter of the royal

arms. The bull is without doubt the black bull of Clarence, used first as a supporter by Edward IV in token of his descent from Lionel of Clarence (whose badge it was), and in later times by Henry VIII (but only rarely by him) as being the son of Edward IV's daughter.

The unicorn, the principal supporter of Queen Jane, differs from the more familiar sinister supporter of the royal arms introduced by James I as the supporter for Scotland into the royal heraldry of England, in being crowned with a royal circlet and collared with a wreath of roses (examples are found of a wreath of roses and daisies). The panthers have a curious history. These queen's beasts are here shown in the traditional fashion with flames coming out of their mouths and ears and spotted with roundels of various colours, collared with crowns and chained, although there is a manuscript at the College of Arms which shows Jane's panther supporter

striped with different colours. Why this beast was given to her is unknown to me; but an entry in the Exchequer accounts of this period, describing a systematic and careful alteration of the arms and badges of the late Queen Anne about the palace into those of Queen Jane, shows that the change was made with a strict regard to economy. A chained leopard collared with a crown was the unhappy Anne's dexter supporter, and ten of them stood in the "New Garden" at Hampton Court as the beasts of that queen. When the one queen succeeded the other, Harry Corant, the Kingston carver, was ordered to alter these ten to panthers by "new makyng of hedds and the taylls," and no doubt it was on the model of those changelings that the panthers for the bridge were carved.

There is some evidence that Queen Jane used a crowned lion as another supporter, and the second of the two

lions in the original list was accordingly considered by us to be hers.

Much ink has been spilt and many quills spoilt since our conception of the yale was placed upon the bridge. I am not prepared to dispute or even to question the conclusions with regard to his nature and the origin of his name which other writers have arrived at. All that I will venture to add to what has been said about him is that the new design for Hampton Court was founded on the yale which appears as his sinister supporter in the stall-plate of John Beaufort, third Earl of Somerset, who was made a knight of the Garter in 1440 and created duke of Somerset in 1443. His stall-plate at Windsor is one of the very few mediaeval plates to show arms with supporters. On it this mysterious monster is represented very nearly after the fashion of a heraldic antelope. He is white spotted with bezants, having hooves of gold, a pair



THE YALE AND THE TUDOR GREYHOUND

of golden horns curving strongly outwards, a huge pair of golden tusks, and a golden beard and mane and short tufted tail. Two such monsters support the shield of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VIII's grandmother, over the gateways of her two colleges at Cambridge. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, who died in 1536, also had the yale as one of his supporters, but his yale was collared with a crown and chained, and we added those ornaments to ours.

It cannot be denied that the yale was distinctly named as a king's beast in Henry VIII's time, for Harry Corant at about this date made "thre of the kyngs beests in tymbre," a hart, a yale and a bull, for the fountain that then stood in the inner court of the palace. But this strange creature had been associated for more than a century with the title of Somerset. Queen Jane's brother, Edward Seymour, who was afterwards

created duke of Somerset, was himself in the household of Henry Fitzroy, and it was hoped that we should not be held to be stretching probability too far in assuming that King Henry gave some of the honours of his dead son to the new queen, and that the yale, for the purposes of our enumeration at any rate, might be treated as a queen's beast.

The whole of the twelve beasts of the old list could, however, not appear on the restored bridge. Whereas in the original design there were twelve pinnacles, six on either side of the bridge, we had to deal with only ten. For when in the nineteenth century two half octagonal pilasters were added, one on either side of the gateway in the new front of the gatehouse with which George III in 1773 refaced Wolsey's work, those pilasters exactly covered the sites of Henry's two pinnacles which stood at the palace end of the bridge where it abutted against the gatehouse. There

are now, therefore, only ten pinnacles ; the number of the beasts had consequently to be reduced by two. The question, which of the twelve should not be restored, was decided by the omission from the new list of one greyhound and one unicorn, leaving for the new king's beasts one lion, as the principal supporter of the royal arms, two dragons, the bull and the greyhound, as characteristic Tudor beasts ; and for the queen one unicorn, her chief supporter, two panthers, the second lion and the yale, the last being given to her to complete her set of five.

The beasts having thus been decided upon, we next had to settle what shield each should hold. There was no hesitation in deciding that the arms of alliance of King Henry and Queen Jane must naturally appear, and as the bridge was completed in Jane's lifetime it was arranged that these should be given twice, to be held in one case by the

first of the king's beasts, and in the second by one of the queen's panthers. The arms upon these shields are France quartering England impaling the six quarterings of Queen Jane, which are blazoned as follows: 1, The arms of augmentation granted by King Henry to Jane Seymour at her marriage: Gold a pile gules between six fleurs de lis azure with three leopards of England on the pile; 2, Seymour: Gules a pair of wings gold with their points downwards; 3, Beauchamp of Hacche: Vair; 4, Sturmy: Silver three demi-lions gules; 5, MacWilliams: Party bendwise silver and gules three roses bendwise and countercoloured; 6, Coker: Silver a bend gules with three leopards' heads gold thereon. The king's arms of France and England, and the queen's shield with its six quarterings, must also, it was felt, appear separately; and these were given to one of the dragons and Jane's unicorn respectively.



The Bull of Clarence and the Queen's Lion

These first four shields being of somewhat complicated design, it seemed desirable that some of greater simplicity should now be introduced into the array ; and three more to be carved with the leopards of England, the wings of the Seymours, and those arms of augmentation which the debased heraldry of the time devised in honour of the marriage of the majesty of England with the daughter of a subject, were determined upon. The Tudor greyhound was made to hold the king's arms of the three leopards; to the queen's second panther was given the shield charged with the arms of her house; and the yale was made to support the arms of augmentation.

This method of allotment left three more shields to be provided for, and the broken shield found in the moat gave a hint as to the charges that should be cut upon them. This is a scutcheon of fantastic shape carved in very high re-

lief with Queen Jane's badge, and it was obviously desirable that this should be reproduced, though it was no true shield of arms, but a scutcheon parted, presumably in the queen's colours, with a badge placed upon it. The badge itself is a remarkable medley of objects, and another good example of the debased heraldry of Tudor days. It represents a castle with the crowned hawthorn tree of the Tudors growing in the lower ward behind the principal gate. From the top of the castle rises a mound set with roses and carnations with a phœnix, the Seymour crest, on its summit. The queen's lion was made to hold it.

The presence of this badge suggested that its inclusion in the original scheme was an excuse for introducing others, as well as it, into the new; and it was decided that the last two shields should be charged with a Tudor rose and the portcullis which has descended to the Tudor sovereigns from their Beau-

fort ancestors. These two were held by the bull and the king's second dragon.

Next, with regard to the order in which the beasts should be set upon the bridge, it was thought proper that they should be arranged alternately, first a king's beast, then a queen's, and so on, beginning with the king's crowned leopard on the left-hand, that is the dexter and heraldically more important, side of the spectator as he approaches the bridge from the gravel walk. That beast with the alliance shield accordingly occupies the first place on the left at the western end of the bridge. Opposite to it stands the queen's unicorn, holding her quartered shield. Next on the left comes the first of Jane's panthers supporting the wings of Seymour, and on the corresponding pier facing it is the dragon of Henry with his royal arms. The middle beast on his left hand is the greyhound with the shield of England, and opposite is placed the queen's lion with her badge.

The yale with the arms of augmentation stands beyond the greyhound, having over against him Clarence's bull with a target charged with a Tudor rose. The last beast on the dexter side at the palace end of the bridge is the second dragon supporting the Tudor badge of the portcullis, and facing him is the queen's second panther holding the repeated alliance shield.

I must not fail to mention that the beasts were modelled in Messrs. Farmer & Brindley's studios in London by one of their craftsmen, Mr. George Wilson, an artist who combines with a genuine love of heraldry a real appreciation of its decorative capacities. He took the utmost pains to interpret the designs that were placed before him, and it is to his skill, and to the determination of everyone concerned that the beasts should be worthy of their position and their ancestry, that the success of this remarkable piece of restoration is largely due.



THE KING'S DRAGON AND THE QUEEN'S PANTHER

ARMORIAL GLASS IN SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

IN 1849, in the course of a careful account of the stained glass then existing at Salisbury, Mr. Charles Winston published in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute some valuable notes as to the probable date and ownership of the remarkable series of painted glass shields which are so conspicuous a feature in the great west window of the nave of the cathedral.

This paper does not claim to do very much more. All that is attempted here is to carry the investigation a little further and to offer one or two suggestions in the hope of throwing a little more light on this interesting matter.

Two of the shields and parts of two

others, one of which no longer exists, were drawn in outline in the 79th plate of Carter's "Ancient Architecture," published in 1806; but the six shields are of such exceeding interest and so completely representative of English heraldic art of the second half of the thirteenth century, that they have been drawn accurately to scale and coloured in water colour, with the leads carefully marked, in order to give some suggestion of the brave show that they make to-day.

The glass of which they are fashioned is thick and heavy, and the colours are perfectly luminous and well preserved. The capricious lines of the lead work, which are very noticeable in some of the shields, and the broken colour which makes them so splendidly decorative, are doubtless due to the costliness of ancient glass, of which even the smallest and most oddly shaped pieces, if satisfactory in colour, would be trea-

sured and worked into the design as occasion served without regard to their shape. It is, however, by no means certain that some of the pieces of glass were not originally larger, but having been cracked have been repaired by new leads.

These shields are all of the same size, namely 17 inches along the line of the chief and 21 inches from chief to foot, being somewhat longer in proportion to their width than the contemporary carved shields in the nave arcade at Westminster Abbey. There are six of these fine escutcheons and one other which, although so obviously a piece of patchwork that no drawing has been made of it, must not be passed without mention. The six that are here dealt with are arranged along the base of the triple lancet in the following order: (1) Gold three cheverons gules; (2) Paly gules and gold of eight pieces; (3) Azure powdered with fleurs de lis

gold ; (4) Gules three leopards gold ; (5) Silver a lion gules with a crown gold in a border sable bezanty ; (6) Gold a cross gules. This enumeration will not, however, be followed in the consideration of these arms for a reason that will surely be obvious. The shield which has disappeared seems from Carter's drawing to have been checkered.

It is natural to speak first of the shield of the English leopards, which is believed to refer to King Henry III. The colour of the field is a gorgeous carmine. The leopards are of a beautiful golden hue, with the shading and outlines of their features and claws still perfectly distinct. It will be noticed that the original head of the uppermost leopard has been lost. Its place is filled by a piece of white glass which shows traces of having been painted yellow (see Frontispiece).

The shape of these beasts, which bear a close resemblance to those of Henry's

sculptured arms in Westminster Abbey, is completely characteristic of the date to which they have been assigned. It is not perhaps what we regard as the most pleasing type. There is here but little of that striking conventionalism and spirited drawing which makes the heraldic animals of fifty or sixty years later so delightful; but the draughtsmanship has strong individuality, and its bold lines would serve to determine the approximate date of this shield even if there were no other indication of its period.

The second coat to be described is a not uncommon variant of the better known Gold with four pales gules of the kings of Aragon, borne without difference by the counts of Provence of the house of Aragon from 1166, when Raimond Berenger II, the last of the counts of the Barcelona line, died without male issue, till 1245, the date of the death of Raimond Berenger IV,

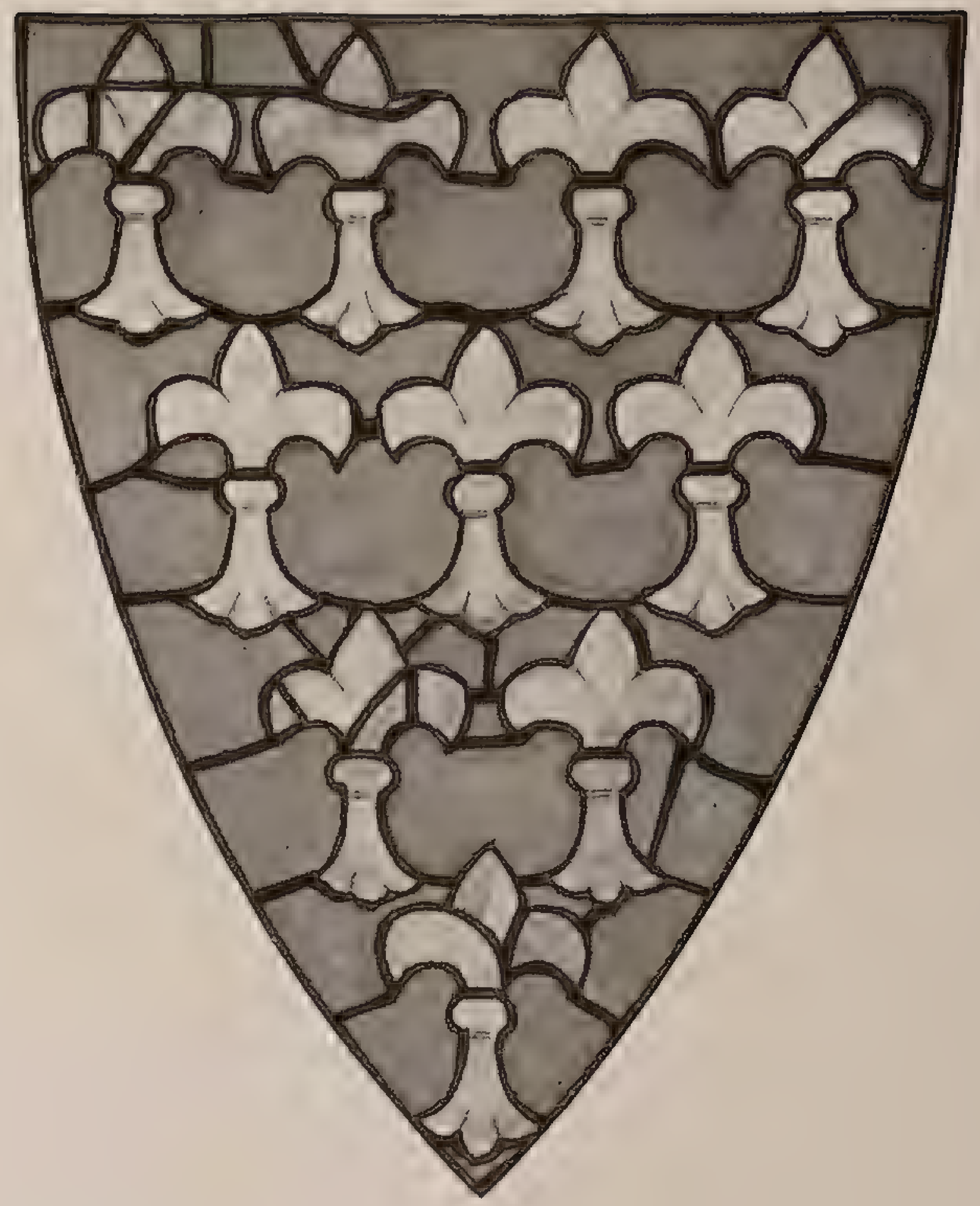
the fourth and last of the Aragonese counts. He left four daughters, Margaret, wife of Louis IX of France, Eleanor, queen of Henry III of England, Sancia, second wife of Richard of Cornwall, and Beatrice, wife of Charles of Anjou, with the last of whom Provence went to the house of Anjou in Naples. There can be no doubt that our shield commemorates the second of these ladies, Eleanor, Queen of England. It is still splendid in colour, though some of the red glass of it has become almost black in course of time.

The next escutcheon demands more than a cursory mention. It can, of course, only be intended for a representation of that earlier form of the arms shown on the seals of the kings of France from the reign of Louis VIII (1223–6) till 1376, when Charles V reduced the lilies in the shield of France to three.

The field, of an exquisitely pure and



ARAGON



OLD FRANCE

rich blue, is in our example charged with ten whole fleurs de lis, which, it will be observed, are of simple and massive form. Matthew Paris' chronicle (Cotton MSS. Nero D. I.), written and illustrated with shields of arms drawn, it is believed, by his own hand about 1244, gives an even simpler type of shield to the French king—"scutum azureum vi gladioli flores aurei"—and these flowers are of almost exactly the same shape as those in the shield at Salisbury.

The counterseal of Philip III (1270–85) bears a shield charged with ten lilies in the same way as those placed at Salisbury. His grandfather, Louis VIII, who was the first French king to place the arms of France on his counter-seal, showed a shield of the round-headed shape charged with eleven whole lilies and parts of four others.

Our shield is ascribed to Louis IX (1226–70), the brother-in-law and staunch friend of Henry III of England.

He died during the eighth (his second) crusade, and was canonized by Boniface VIII in 1297.

It is scarcely probable that this shield refers to Margaret of France, who became Edward I's wife in 1299, after the death of Eleanor of Castile. If that were the case the arms of England would be for Edward I, and the only apparent reason for the Aragon shield would be its insertion as a memorial of his mother. There are, however, other indications which point to a date earlier than 1299, as that to which the shields of England, France and Aragon must be referred.

The next in order of dignity is charged with the well known arms of Richard Earl of Cornwall. Its field is a clear silvery white, and the border which at a distance of a very few feet appears to be quite black, is of very dark purple glass. The striking form of the rampant lion, stiff and restrained yet thoroughly vigorous in drawing, is again

markedly characteristic of the second half of the thirteenth century; and there can be no doubt that this coat is rightly attributed to Richard, second son of King John, created earl of Cornwall and of Poitiers by his brother Henry in 1225 and elected king of the Romans in 1256. He was thrice married, first to Isabel Marshal, the widow of Gilbert of Clare, first Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and after her death to Sancia of Provence, the youngest of Count Raimond's daughters. He died a few months before his brother King Henry, and his third wife, Beatrice of Falkenstein, survived him. The drawing of his arms by Matthew Paris is almost precisely similar in style and feeling to the shield at Salisbury. The lion is, however, somewhat less stiff and there are only eleven bezants in the border (see Frontispiece).

A word may be said here with regard to the patchwork shield which finds a

place among these armorials. This is an escutcheon of the same size and shape as the others of the series, displaying a field of white glass with a green demon and a blue border charged with bezant-like disks of yellow glass. Of these materials the white and the yellow have all the appearance of thirteenth century glass ; the demon seems to be sixteenth century work ; and the blue glass of the border is certainly modern. It is possible that the white glass and the yellow disks are parts of another coat of arms that once belonged to this group, perhaps a second escutcheon of Cornwall, referring to Henry the first surviving son of the king of the Romans. After fighting on the king's side at Lewes, where he was taken prisoner, young Henry of Cornwall took the cross in 1268, and while on his way home from the crusade was slain by the sons of Simon de Montfort at Viterbo in 1271. It is hardly likely

that a second Cornwall shield, if these fragments are really part of those arms, would refer to Edmund of Almaine, the second son of Richard's second marriage, since he does not emerge from obscurity till 1272, when he succeeded his father as earl of Cornwall at the age of twenty-four.

The shield of Clare has suffered somewhat from the effects of more than six hundred years of weathering, and the colours, though perfectly distinct, are darker than those of the other coats of arms. A striking feature in this escutcheon is the characteristic narrowness of the cheverons, the red glass that is exposed between the edges of the lines of lead being only just three-quarters of an inch in width. In spite of this the elegant angle of the sharply pointed cheverons enables them to fill the field with admirable effect.

The assignment of this beautifully designed shield to Gilbert of Clare can-

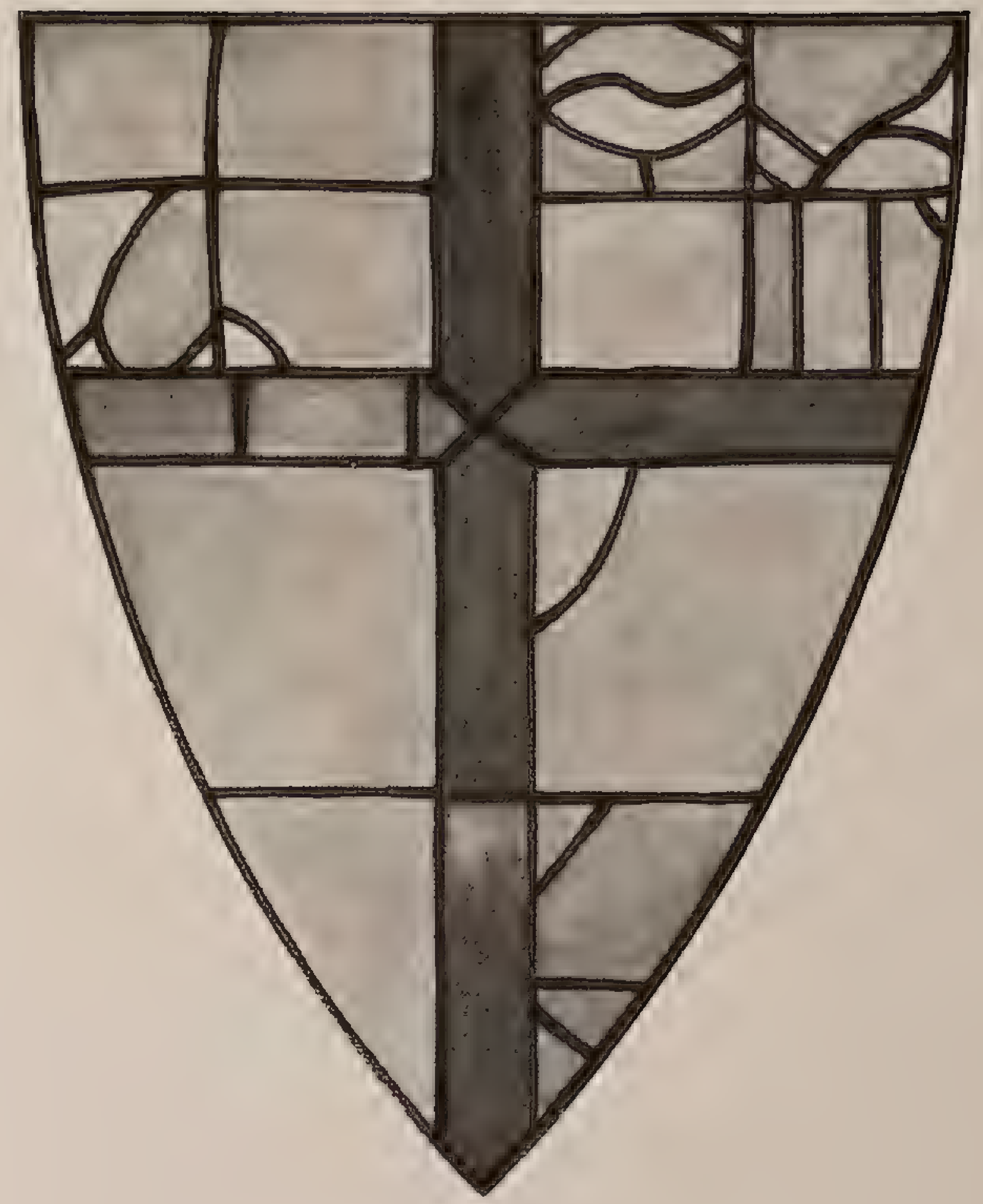
not be questioned. He succeeded his father Richard as third earl of Gloucester and Hertford in 1262. Five years earlier Gilbert had married Alice de Lusignan, daughter of the king's half-brother Guy Count of Cognac, whose aunt and namesake became in 1247 the wife of another great English noble.

The last surviving shield of this fine collection is believed to be that of Roger Bigod, fourth Earl of Norfolk (1225–70). It is noteworthy that the cross is of a narrowness as remarkable as that which has been observed in the cheverons of Clare, so that instead of occupying one-fifth of the shield area, which the pedants define as the proper proportion for an uncharged cross, it is in this example little more than one-eighth of the width of the field.

There was at least one other shield belonging to this group, for part of a checkered shield, intended doubtless for the arms of Warenne, is shown in



CLARE



BIGOD

King John of England = Isabel of Angoulême = Hugh de Lusignan

Raimond Berenger IV, Count of Provence

William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke

HENRY III of England, 1216–72 = ELEANOR of Provence, 2nd daughter

Louis IX of France, 1226–70 = Margaret of Provence, 1st daughter

Sancia of Provence, 3rd daughter =

RICHARD King of the Romans, Earl of Cornwall, 1225–72 =

Isabel Marshal, 3rd daughter = Gilbert de Clare, 1st Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, 1218–30

Hugh Bigod, 3rd Earl of Norfolk, 1221–5 = Maud Marshal, 1st daughter =

William de Warenne, 2nd Earl of Surrey, 1202–40

HENRY, 2nd but 1st surviving son, murdered in Italy, 1271

Richard de Clare, 2nd Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, 1230–62

ROGER BIGOD, 4th Earl of Norfolk, 1225–70

JOHN DE WARENNE, 3rd Earl of Surrey, 1240–1305 = Alice de Lusignan

Guy de Lusignan, Count of Cognac, 2nd son

GILBERT DE CLARE, 3rd Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, 1262–95 = Alice de Lusignan

Carter's plate of the chapter-house windows; but I have no knowledge of its ever having appeared with the rest in the west window of the nave. If the date which has been suggested for these coats be correct, namely, a few years before 1272, this lost shield would refer to John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, the husband of the elder Alice de Lusignan. He died at the age of sixty-five in 1305.

The relationships between the various bearers of these shields of arms is shown in the table on page 69, wherein the names of those whose arms have been mentioned are given in capital letters. But a desire to record a number of not very closely connected matches seems hardly reason enough to account for so remarkable a "levy of shields," though it may have had some bearing on their display. Some important event was probably the occasion for the painting of this collection of arms, and it

would seem that such an event must be sought for between 1262, the date of Gilbert de Clare's succession to his earldoms, and 1270, the year in which St. Louis died.

May it not be possible that the year 1268, when the cross was raised for the eighth time, supplied the required date ? It was the crusade of *Louis of France. Henry III* and *Eleanor of Provence* were on the throne of England. Their son, together with their nephew, *Henry*, son of *Richard of Cornwall*, took the cross ; and the example set by those princes was followed by the earls of Surrey and Gloucester, *John de Warenne* and *Gilbert de Clare*. And if the arms of *Roger Bigod* were not included for the same reason, he was in virtue of his office of marshal a personage of such high importance, and he had been so lately reconciled to King Henry, that in some such reasons as those may perhaps

be found the motive for the honour which was thereby shown him.

One last question—why were these shields placed in Salisbury chapter-house?—is, it is to be feared, unanswerable. It is, however, practically certain, provided that the conclusions as to proprietorship and date here arrived at are correct, that they were not originally made for that position, for the building of the chapter-house was not begun till the reign of Edward I was well advanced. But by whose orders the escutcheons were made, why and by whom they were given to Salisbury Cathedral, and when they were first placed in the position they occupied till they were removed in 1828 to the great triple lancet in the nave, are riddles that still await their solution.

A MONTAGU SHIELD AT HAZELBURY BRYAN

AN attempt is made to illustrate in the accompanying drawing, as far as careful colouring and accurate measurements allow, a lovely fragment of stained glass some five centuries old which is in the east window of the parish church of Hazelbury Bryan in Dorset.

This shield of Montagu quartered with Monthermer is the most conspicuous object in the church. Small though it is, and placed at the top of the window, it catches the eye the moment one enters. It is barely $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high ; but the colours of it are so rich and glowing that it gleams like a jewel that owes an added grace to the mellowing increase of the years. The relative values of the

tints of this fine piece of colouring, the shapes of the pieces of glass and the curious lines of the lead are given in the accompanying illustration as accurately as possible.

As is usually the case with heraldic glass of the middle ages, the leadwork is very noteworthy. It will be observed how apparently capricious the lines of it are, yet how perfectly they fulfil their office and how admirably they aid the whole effect. The colours are wonderfully pure. The silver glass throughout is of a beautiful pearly tint. The red is a splendid crimson, though some of it has corroded and become nearly black. Monthermer's eagle in the second quarter is of a pale olive green, while his fellow is as brilliant as an emerald. The shield is by no means true in drawing, but the whole thing looks, and indeed is, perfectly right in feeling, and the bands of pale gold on either side of the shield going up into a rudely shaped



MONTAGU, EARL OF SALISBURY

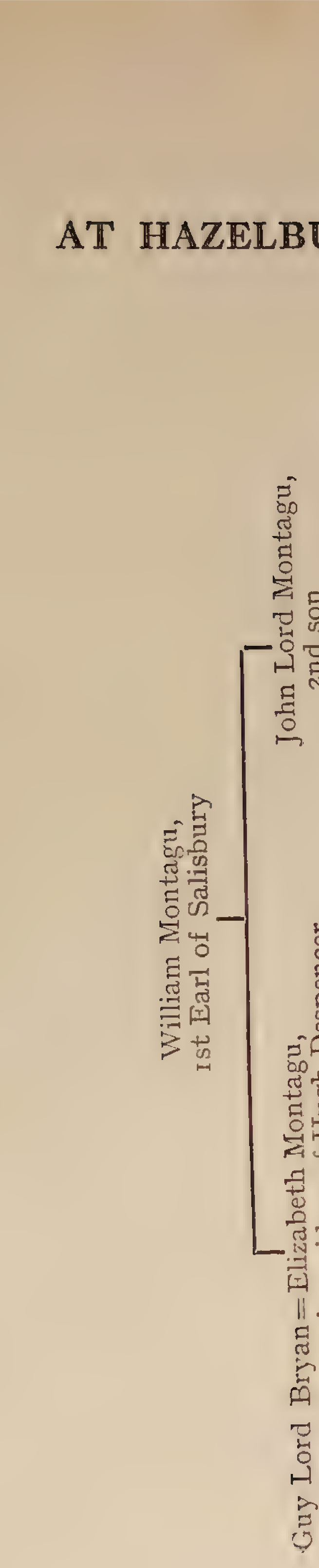
loop above it add not a little to the decorative effect.

By the side of it in a similarly shaped compartment of the tracery is another shield of great interest, but so sadly broken and so clumsily repaired that no attempt is made to reproduce it here. It is of the same size and shape as the Montagu shield, and displays the golden field and blue piles of Bryan impaling Ermine a chief sable indented with two lions gold therein. The woman's side of the arms, which happily is unbroken, is painted on a single slip of glass. The drawing of the charges is fine and vigorous, but the staining is markedly inferior to that of the other shield.

Its value lies in the fact that it establishes the identity of the maiden name of the wife of Sir Guy de Bryan, lord of the manor of Hazelbury, and eldest son of the Lord Bryan who was knight of the Garter and died in 1390. Glover's

roll assigned this coat of the ermine and black lion-charged chief to Bures of Essex, but the pedigrees have little more to tell us about the lady than that her Christian name was Alice. It is plainly Dame Alice de Bryan whom this shield commemorates. Her husband, the last male Bryan, died in his father's lifetime in 1386, leaving two daughters his co-heirs and his wife Alice surviving him. Soon after his death the parish church was demolished, and in the first years of the fifteenth century the building of the present church, the third on the same site, was begun. It appears to have been continued till as late as 1415, Dame Alice being meanwhile the patron of the living, and it seems certain that she marked her share in the work by this shield of her paternal arms impaled by those of her dead lord.

The problem of the identity of the bearer of Montagu's quartered coat is not quite so clear. Only two of the


William Montagu,
1st Earl of Salisbury
John Lord Montagu,
2nd son
d Earl
. 1406
4th Earl
b. 1428
gu,
n Despencer
uy Lord Bryan = Elizabeth Montagu
widow of Hugh L
Sir Guy de Bryan = Alice,
ob.v.p. 1386 living 1415

earls of Salisbury bore it, John, the third earl, and Thomas, his son and successor ; and both of them were near of kin to Guy de Bryan, as the table of their descent on page 77 shows.

Hutchins, the historian of Dorset, boldly asserts that the shield is a memorial of the fourth earl ; but as he states in the same breath that above it is a crest of a horseshoe, it may be doubted whether his dictum is entirely trustworthy. Earl Thomas was indeed living while the new church at Hazelbury was in building, and it is possible that if reasons of kinship led him to contribute to the cost of it his arms would be placed here as a memorial of him ; but his father was Guy's contemporary, and probability rather points to the third earl as the person who is indicated by this shield of Montagu.

TWO NEVILL SHIELDS AT SALISBURY

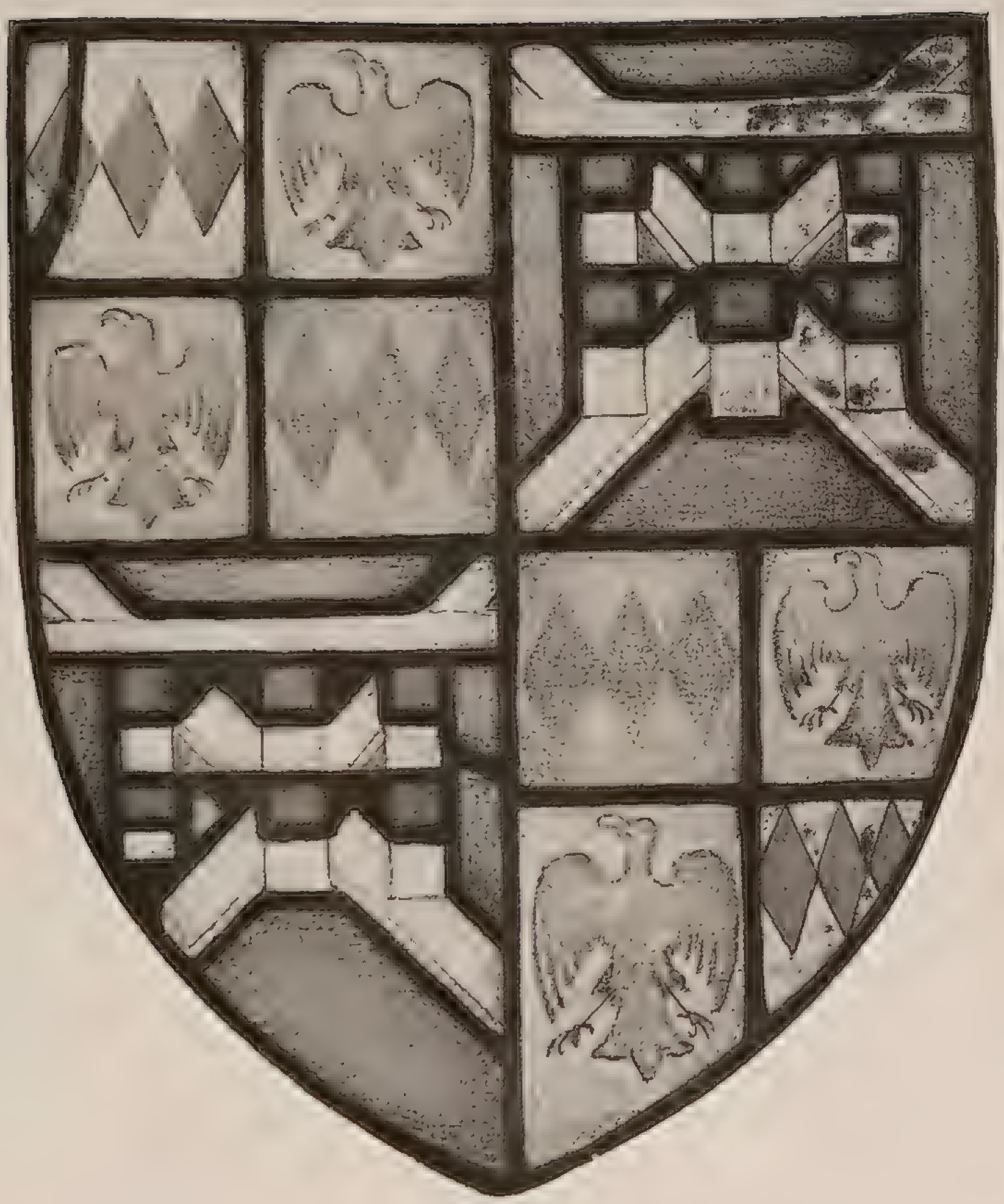
IN one of the windows of the fine fifteenth century room, known far and wide as the Hall of John Hall, standing at the back of a china shop on the New Canal at Salisbury, are two stained glass shields of arms which apart from their intrinsic interest are of importance as having some bearing on the subject of the arms of the King-maker.

These shields, evidently made by the same designer, are small—9 inches long and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width—and the glass, with the exception of one fragment, is undoubtedly coeval with the hall itself, which was built in 1470 by John Hall, a wealthy wool merchant of the city, thrice a representative of

the borough in Parliament and four times mayor of New Sarum.

They cannot indeed compare in antiquity and stateliness with that great series of thirteenth century glass shields in the cathedral described on an earlier page. I have, however, made carefully measured and coloured drawings of these venerable relics, so fragile yet so enduring, in the hope that the accompanying reproductions and a few words of description of them may not be unacceptable to the curious in such matters.

The first shield is the quartered coat displayed by Richard Nevill the elder. He was the second son of Ralph, eighth Lord Nevill of Raby (who was created earl of Westmorland in 1397) by his second wife Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. He was born in 1400, and when twenty-eight years of age he married Eleanor Montagu, only daughter and heir of Thomas, fourth



Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury

Earl of Salisbury. A year later he was summoned to Parliament in the earldom of his dead father-in-law, and for the rest of his life was busy with war and politics, coming finally to his end at the age of sixty, when, after the battle of Wakefield, the victorious Lancastrians beheaded him.

This shield, set up in John Hall's house here in the city of his title, displays the ensigns of the Salisbury earldom of his wife's forebears, the red indented fesse of Montagu quartering the eagle of Monthermer in its first and fourth quarters, and in its second and third the saltire of his house differenced with the gobony label of silver and azure which he had assumed to mark his maternal descent from the Beauforts.[1]

[1] It may be remarked that Doyle ("Official Baronage," iii. 588) assigns these arms to the King-maker, mistaking the earl of Salisbury's seal for that of his son, although the legend mentions the owner's possession of Cambrai, a lordship, according to Doyle's own showing (Ibid.,

The glass of this fine shield is of very uneven quality. Much of it is perfect in colour, but the two quarters of Montagu in the middle of the shield have changed to a pinkish yellow while the fusils in them have almost lost their colour. Perhaps this is due to these two quarters having been placed with their painted sides outward and exposed to the weather. Equally defective is the colouring of the four Monthermer quarters, wherein both field and charge have faded to a pale yellowish green. The eagles are very tame-looking fowl. The draughtsmanship is entirely lacking in that strength of outline and vigorous conventionality which one expects in heraldic work of this period.

The second shield is that of the younger Richard Nevill, only son of the earl of Salisbury. He, who was born November 22, 1428, married in or about 1449

iii. 242) of the elder, and not of the younger Richard Nevill.

Anne Beauchamp, sister and heir, after the death of her niece and namesake, of her brother Henry Duke of Warwick, the last male of that mighty house which for six generations had held the famous earldom of Warwick. The making of this shield presented to the artist precisely the same question as to the order of marshalling the coats displayed for the many-landed earl that proved so hard of solution to the engravers of his seals. The problem was solved in a manner highly original if hardly satisfactory according to modern theories of marshalling, the designer labouring even more painfully than they in his efforts to set the quarterings aright.

The task before him was to combine in one composition the earl's own arms of Nevill, the ensigns of the earldom of Warwick—Beauchamp and Newburgh with their ancient quarterings of Despencer and Clare—which he bore in

right of his wife, while those of the old earls of Salisbury of the Montagu line, who quartered the green and gold of Monthermer with their own silver and red, must needs be included, since Richard Nevill was earl of Salisbury as well as earl of Warwick. In the result the order is as astonishing as that of any shield that was ever shown for the King-maker.

The seven coats are arranged, not as might have been expected, horizontally with four in the chief and three in the foot, but in three columns, the two outermost having each two quarters, Beauchamp over Nevill and Monthermer above Despencer respectively, while the middle is charged with Montagu in the chief, Clare at the foot, and Newburgh between them. It would probably have been difficult for the designer to account for this surprising order, yet the crudity of the arrangement seems somehow to be instinct with



RICHARD NEVILL, EARL OF WARWICK

heraldic vitality, and the interest of it lies in the fact that it adds one more to the long list of quartered shields of "the last of the barons."

The only modern piece of glass in either shield is the Despencer quarter in this, which it is said is Pugin's work, inserted at the restoration of the hall in about 1834. It is totally without value except as showing how great is the gap between the armorial taste and execution of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.

On the other hand, the work of the mediaeval craftsman is full of interest and charm. The way in which the lower part of the Beauchamp quarter and that portion of Nevill's coat which appears above the label are combined on one piece of glass, the curious lead-work of the gobony label, the elaborate construction of the Newburgh quarter, the bold leading of the Montagu fesse, and the great dexterity displayed in

the cutting of the glass in the Clare quarter, are details, small perhaps in themselves, but evidences of a daring ingenuity and an appreciation of effect that are truly admirable.

The gules fields of the Beauchamp and Nevill quarters are of red glass "flashed" upon white; the golden crosslets of Beauchamp have been made by staining the white glass after the red flash was removed by abrasion, the lowest argent pane of the sinister pendant of Nevill's label being produced in the same manner.

In the Monthermer the same poverty of design is to be seen that has already been remarked in similar quarterings in the earl of Salisbury's shield.

A conjecture may be permitted as to the probable cause of the placing of these two escutcheons in John Hall's windows. If a reason for the inclusion of Salisbury's arms may perhaps be found in the citizen's desire to do honour

to the memory of a local magnate, it is probably not altogether fanciful to see in his display of Warwick's quarterings a compliment dictated by political expediency.

In the autumn of 1470, while his hall was a-building, the worthy merchant, mayor of this city and a staunch partisan of the house of York, was on the horns of a painful dilemma. Warwick had just landed in the west, and at the head of an army of French and Flemings was pressing hot-foot on London. Edward's throne was tottering, and when at this juncture the great earl demanded that New Sarum should furnish an array of forty men to aid King Henry, Hall's loyalty and a desire to propitiate the winning side were tugging him in opposite directions.

It seems to have been his conscientious devotion to the Yorkist king that caused the mayor to delay the raising of the troops whom Warwick demanded

as long as he dared, while perhaps it was as a small private sop to a powerful foe that he placed the earl's arms in his window. And it will be admitted that they serve another purpose as a splendid piece of decoration.

Six months later Warwick and his schemes came to their appointed end on Barnet Field, but this little memorial of him still survives, carefully treasured by its present possessors, to delight the antiquary of to-day.

THE HERALDRY OF THE FONT AT HOLT

THE very remarkable font in the church of St. Chad at Holt in Denbighshire is one of those examples of ecclesiastical furniture that we find not infrequently in our land, whose decoration tells, for those with eyes to read it, the tale of the great ones who in times past ruled the country-side.

It is an octagonal structure with panelled bowl and stem and having under the bowl a chamfer that is also octagonal but not panelled. Each one of its twenty-four surfaces is occupied by carving of remarkable vigour and effectiveness, but executed in the rudest fashion, and originally, no doubt, gay with gold and colour.

The head of the font is cut down. It has lost its upper moulded edge, which

evidently was split at some time by one of the staples through which was passed the bar that secured the mediaeval cover; and it will be noticed that the damage extended to the upper part of the eastern panel of the bowl.

The east side of the font is adorned with these carvings:—on the bowl is a shield of England with a helm above it crested with a sitting leopard. The helm has on its right an ostrich feather erect behind a small shield carved with a bear and ragged staff; and on the left is an uncharged shield with a similar feather behind it. On the chamfer is a leopard; and on the stem a demi-angel holding a small plain shield.

In the panel on the north-east side of the bowl is a shield plainly intended for Beauchamp of Warwick (with six crosslets but without the fesse) quartered with Newburgh (checkered but lacking the ermine cheveron), Nevill



The Eastern Sides

of Salisbury (a saltire but without the gobony label), and the cheverons of Clare. On the chamfer is a much broken emblem which, without doubt, is a fetter lock; and the panel of the stem contains an ornament of leaves.

On the north side the carvings are as follows:—on the bowl is a battered design that seems to have been a representation of Our Lady with the Child; on the chamfer are three human figures in a vessel that has somewhat the appearance of a boat; on the stem is a sitting dog with a collar about his neck.

The north-west face has on the bowl another greatly damaged carving in which, however, it is not difficult to trace a representation of the Holy Trinity; on the chamfer is a human bust with flowing hair; on the stem is a boar.

On the western side the bowl panel is occupied by a hart's head cabossed; on the chamfer is a grotesque face;

and on the stem is a chipped and defaced seated figure holding in his right hand an object which looks like a bishop's crozier. This may perhaps be intended for St. Chad, the patron saint of the church.

On the south-west side are these objects :—on the bowl a lion rampant, the rest of the panel being filled with coarsely cut leafage ; on the chamfer is a leaf ornament ; on the stem a quatrefoil in a circle with a rose in the middle of it.

The bowl panel of the south face is occupied by the checkered shield of Warenne ; the chamfer has a leopard ; and on the stem is a finely designed ornament of vine leaves.

On the south-east face the carvings are :—on the bowl a shield of the Fitz Alan lion quartered with Warenne's checkers ; on the chamfer a demi-angel holding an uncharged shield ; on the stem a leaf ornament.



The North and North-west Sides

But a mere catalogue of its wealth of imagery cannot exhaust the interest of this astonishing piece of work. It is the simple directness, the childish strength, the extraordinary effectiveness of its execution that hold you amazed. For here is work of the twilight of the Gothic art. Within a very few years of its making all that it represents was to be scorched and shrivelled up in the ardent rays of the sun of the Renaissance ; and yet it looks in its rugged strength as if it might be four hundred years older than we know it to be.

On the other hand, it is a fair argument that the crudeness of the carving is merely evidence of decadence, of the slackness of an effete time wherein men would not be at the pains to work as well as they could. And yet when all is said, you wonder again that work which is really so bad should appear to be so good, and that in spite of its coarse clumsiness it can succeed in being so

decorative and in telling its tale so bravely.

For our present purpose we may disregard the figures human and divine, as well as the leaves, the faces and the quatrefoil; but before considering the heraldry we may glance at the boat-like vessel containing three men carved on the chamfer on the north side. This is of course a reference to St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, and represents the three youths in a tub who make the familiar emblem of the patron saint of children. Its peculiar appropriateness as part of the decoration of a font will be readily recognized. Other fonts on which it occurs are no doubt known to our readers, the most notable, perhaps, being that in Winchester Cathedral.

The heraldic carvings will be enumerated and described in the following order, for a reason that will presently be seen :—



THE WEST, SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH SIDES

(1) The shield of Warenne on the south face of the bowl.

(2) The quartered arms of Fitz Alan on the south-east face of the bowl.

(3) The rampant lion in the south-west panel of the bowl, which we take to be the silver lion of Mowbray.

(4) The royal badge of the ostrich feather that appears twice in the eastern panel of the bowl.

(5) The boar on the north-west side of the stem, which is a badge of King Richard III.

(6) The fetterlock on the north-east chamfer, a well-known badge of the house of York.

(7) The shield and crest of the king of England in the eastern panel of the bowl, which taken in conjunction with much of the other heraldry, obviously refers to King Richard III.

(8) The royal leopards on the south and east chamfers.

(9) The quartered shield of Beau-

champ, Newburgh, Nevill and Clare on the north-east side of the bowl, a variant of the arms of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, whom history knows as the King-maker.

(10) The little scutcheon by the side of the king's arms in the east panel of the bowl, which is charged with the famous bear and ragged staff badge of the earls of Warwick.

(11) The hart's head in the western panel of the bowl, which is a badge of Sir William Stanley, lord of Holt.

(12) The collared hound in the north panel of the stem, which is none other than the greyhound badge of King Henry VII.

Taking these heraldic devices now in the order in which they are here set down, and comparing them with the history of Holt, their significance becomes clear. The lordship of Bromfield and Yale, with Holt Castle as its head, was held in Norman times by



THE NORTH-WEST AND WEST SIDES

the Warennes, earls of Surrey (1),[1] and early in the fourteenth century passed by marriage to the Fitz Alans. Thomas, seventh of the Fitz Alan Earls of Arundel (2), dying without issue in 1415, the lordship went through his sisters to Mowbray, Nevill of Bergavenny and Lenthall, and eventually into the sole possession of the Mowbrays of Norfolk (3). Thence it passed to Richard Duke of York who married Anne, heir of the Mowbrays, and after his murder in 1483 came to the Crown. In 1474 Richard (4) Duke of Gloucester (5), fourth son of Richard Duke of York (6), and afterwards king of England as Richard III (7 and 8), married the Lady Anne, second daughter and co-heir of Richard Nevill (9), Earl of Warwick

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer for information relating to the history of Holt. This and the following numerals in brackets refer to the order in which the heraldic devices are numbered above.

(10). After King Richard's death Sir William Stanley (11), second son of Thomas, first Lord Stanley, retained by favour of King Henry VII (12), the lordship of Holt which Richard III had given him, and was lord until his forfeiture and death. It is said that he was the richest subject of King Henry, having no less than 40,000 marks in hard cash, and a rent roll of £3,000 a year. And it would seem that in the end his great wealth was his undoing; for when in 1495 Perkin Warbeck was meditating his first attempt on the crown of England, Henry professed to believe that Stanley had turned against him and had him beheaded for a traitor. But men said it was because the lord of Holt was so rich that the king envied him, and that the nearest way to get his riches was to take his head.

However that may be, that date, 1495, gives us the latest year that is possible for the making of the font. It cannot



The South-east and East Sides

have been made before 1485, or the greyhound badge of the Tudor would not have been carved upon it, and after Stanley's beheading it would have been hard to find in all England one bold enough to place upon it a memorial of a declared traitor. Perhaps from other sources, unknown to the present writer, the actual year may be ascertainable.

The interest of this investigation lies in the fact, of which this example affords one more proof, that heraldic decoration may nearly always be trusted as evidence of personality and date. For, as I have tried to show, the heraldry of this font is the history of Holt in shorthand. It shows the descent of the lordship from Warenne through Fitz Alan and Mowbray; it marks in a kind of parenthesis the alliance of an heiress of Nevill with the blood royal, although Anne being of the Warwick and not of the Bergavenny line is outside the manorial tale; and it brings the his-

tory of Holt to the day of the making of the font, when the lordship had come into the hands of a Stanley.

Of all the armory that goes to the telling of this story, the most remarkable piece is the rude but unmistakable shield of the King-maker that decorates the north-eastern panel of the bowl. Among the many armorial achievements that have been displayed for that powerful lord, not one is known to the present writer that so entirely flouts those conventions which armorists came to regard as essential to the marshalling of arms. There is scarcely one that more concisely emphasizes the truth that the great folks of the heraldic time regarded their quarterings less as marks of identity and evidences of descent than as emblems of territorial dignities. Richard "Make-a-King" is before all else earl of Warwick, and the arms that we call those of Beauchamp and Newburgh—holders

of that historic earldom long before the Nevills had come out of their northern fastnesses—are put first in his scutcheon, not for a sign that the blood of the old earls of Warwick runs in the veins of Richard Nevill, nor as symbols of his marriage with their heiress, but to proclaim that he is holder of title and broad lands that they once had held. He is also earl of Salisbury, and the herald of the font (though he omits the label that is the distinguishing mark of Nevills who held that earldom) puts the saltire next, because his earldom of Salisbury, inherited from his father, is of less renown than the great lordship of the midland country that his wife had brought him. Last come the cheverons of Clare. Not that even so high a personage as my lord of Warwick dares to lay claim to the exalted dignity of Gloucester. But he is lord of Morgan and Glamorgan and warden of the western marches, as the Clares

had been, and he displays as a symbol of that territorial honour the arms that they had borne, while he separates them from the ensigns of Beauchamp and Warwick, to which, if quarterings denoted nothing but blood relationship, they should have been closely united.

It was in another and not less remarkable shield of the King-maker that Mr. Horace Round [1] observed "the designer feeling his way . . . towards a system of quartering." Here at Holt, if we have read aright the intentions of him who designed the font, we may note the same thing, and see in what measure within the limits he assigned to himself he achieved success.

[1] "Ancestor," iv. 145.

CANTING ARMS IN THE ZÜRICH ROLL

A COMPARISON of the early armory of the Germans and German-speaking people with that of our own countrymen shows that among the former the use of canting arms is not only of more frequent occurrence, but that those arms seems to possess a more spontaneous character, so to speak, than was generally the case on this side of the narrow seas. This phenomenon is due probably not so much to a keener appreciation among German armorists of the humour of such things as to the fact that many more of their family names are either wholly or in part the names of things than was ever the case in England, and therefore more readily

suggest the employment of this form of symbolism.

The "Wappenrolle von Zürich," which from internal evidence has been confidently assigned to a date between 1336 and 1347 at the latest, may be adduced in support of this statement. That famous roll, which in the first half of the eighteenth century was in the hands of Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, a noted naturalist and antiquary of Zürich, passed after his death in 1733 into the possession of the Town Library of his native town, where it still remains. The roll consists of thirteen sheets of parchment sewn together, making a total length of a little over 13 ft. 4 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide. Originally it was longer; a copy is, however, fortunately preserved of the piece that is lost. It is painted on both sides with two rows of heraldic designs, consisting of 559 drawings of shields and crested helms and 28 episcopal banners; and out of some

five hundred and fifty of the armorials which have been identified more than a fifth are undoubtedly "redende Wappen."

The simple solid directness of the draughtsmanship, the stateliness and variety of the crests, always a feature of high dignity and importance in Teutonic heraldry, the strong and vigorous character of the work, and its remarkable state of preservation, combine to place this roll among the most valuable and instructive examples of the armorial practice and design of the middle ages. A facsimile of it was published at Zürich in 1860, and for the purpose of the student this is perhaps as valuable as the original, since it is naturally more accessible than that venerable document. The drawings which illustrate this article have been carefully copied by the writer from the reproduction of 1860, and are here presented slightly larger than the originals.

For the sake of convenience the punning arms in this famous collection may be arranged in nine groups, as follows :—

(1) The blazon of both arms and



crest contains the whole name of the bearer. Grünenberg, for instance, has the canting coat Silver a chief

vert and a mountain gold in the chief.

His crest is a mitre-shaped hat coloured as the arms with a black tuft of cock's feathers in the top of it. The helm is one of the very few in the roll



that are drawn full-faced. All the helms throughout the roll are gold.

(2) The arms and crest represent

the whole name, but the crest is part only of the bearings painted in the shield. Betler, for example, puns on his name with arms of Silver a beggar



(*Bettler*) in a long black coat with a wallet silver at his back and holding a staff and a begging bowl both gules.

The crest is the figure of the beggar cut off at the waist, clad in white with wallet and bowl of sable.

(3) Part only of the name of the bearer is pictured; but that part is



shown both by the arms and the crest. Thus Veldkirch carries Gold a church banner gules, and these arms are re-

peated on his magnificent fan-shaped crest, which is edged with ermine and peacock's feathers.

(4) The arms exactly represent one or more syllables of the bearer's name, but the crest, being part only of the bearings, only partly does so. Mühlhain, for instance, puns with a shield



Party silver and azure a lion gules crowned gold holding a mill-stone azure and passing his tail through another mill-stone silver. The crest that goes with this dainty piece of allusiveness is a demi-lion gules with a golden crown holding a mill-stone silver.

(5) The name is not given in the blazon of the arms and crest: they merely suggest it. Montfort von Wallenstad furnishes an example with his arms of Silver a chess rook sable. The crest is a red chess rook edged with peacock's feathers along the top.

(6) The arms alone contain the pun,



the crest making no reference to the name. Roschach, for instance, whose name is otherwise Rosenberg, has for arms Silver a rose-tree in its proper colours growing out of a mount gold.

(7) The blazon gives part only of the name. Aichelberg and Aichan in this



way carry the one in gold, the other in silver, three scale-beams (*Aichellen*) sable.

(8) The charge merely hints at the bearer without actually naming him; as, for example, in Tüfel's arms, Gold a roundel sable, where the solid black

disk is evidently intended to represent, or at least to suggest, the realm of darkness.



(9) Finally the crest alone either exactly translates the bearer's name, as that of Wolfsattel, which is a wolf saddled azure; or it makes a more or less obvious allusion to the sound of



it, as that of Wisendangen, which is indeed two white things (*Weisse Dinge*), a pair of huge ibex horns of silver, one on either side of his helm.

These groups may be further subdivided into sections according to the subject matter of the arms ; as for instance, shields containing human figures ; those that have representations of water ; the important section belonging to names of which the syllable *-eg* or *-eck* (*Ecke* = corner) forms a part ; arms of families whose names end in *-berg* or *-perg, -fels*, *-stein* and the like, of which the English equivalent is -mount ; the leaf (*Blatt* or *Laube*) section, and so on. Each group contains examples from one or more of such sections, and these two methods of classification will be combined in the consideration of some other noteworthy specimens of the canting arms in this wonderful collection.

(1) Biber's shield is Gold with a

beaver (*Biber*) sable placed bendwise athwart it, and his crest is a tall sugar-loaf cap of gold with a black beaver painted similarly upon it, and a bush of black cock's feathers atop.



The punning arms of Ot a dem **Rand** are Sable a turnip (*Rande*) in its proper

colours, and he has this remarkable charge for his crest.

Two more of these strange vegetable coats appear in the roll ; Silver a parsnip growing out of a green mount, and Sable a cabbage in its proper colours. Neither of them has been identified ; but it may be guessed that they also are canting arms.

Kim bears Gules a high peaked hat silver with strings vert and a sprig (*Keim*) of green leaves stuck on either side of it. His crest is a like hat with a bunch of green sprigs sprouting from the point.

Affenstein has Silver an ape (*Affe*) sitting and biting a golden stone (*Stein*), which may, however, be intended for a nut. On the helm a like ape sits as crest.

Hoheneck plays on his name with the fine simple arms Gules a quarter silver ; and his fantastic crest, which is nothing but a quiver with black cock's

feathers stuck in it, is coloured in the same way. "*Ecke hoch oben in dem*



Schild" is the comment of the editor of the facsimile on these arms; and it may be noted here that all canting coats in this roll for names of which *=eck* or *=eg* is part have sharply pointed charges.

Thus Sterneg carries Sable a pale

silver and three stars (*Sterne*) gules thereon. Two silver sickles with handles gules and a star gules between their points are placed upright on his helm for the crest.



The arms of Schwarzenberg are Silver a mountain sable (*schwarz*), and his crest is a silver mitre with the black

mount on back and front, and a tuft of sable cock's feathers on either point.

Pfaff displays Gules the demi-figure of a priest (*Pfaffe*) in a white surplice and a golden cap and flourishing a holy-water sprinkler of gold. The priest's figure is exactly repeated for a crest.

(2) The well known shield of the duchy of Styria is drawn as Vert a silver panther, a monster which has been wrongly [1] described as a wingless griffin with a forked tail breathing flames. The crest is the upper half of him. Originally, no doubt, this was a punning charge, a rampant steer (*Stier*); but already as early as the first half of the fourteenth century the steer of Styria is losing his

[1] By Trier, for instance, in his "Einleitung zu der Wapen-Kunst," 9th Edn., Leipzig, 1774, p. 221, a mistake copied by the late Dr. Woodward, "Heraldry British and Foreign," ii. 121. Spener does not so err, nor do modern German heraldic writers. It is only fair, however, to add that Trier mentions the fact that "others call this charge a panther," and that "von Bircken believed it to have been a steer in early times."

natural form and changing into a monster with a bull's head indeed, but with very unbovine body and extremities. The beginnings too of what later developed into a forked tail are clearly visible.



The coat of Ringenberg is Silver a

ring gules twisted with silver set upright on a green mount, and his crest is a like ring on a cushion gules.

Ramensperg bears for his arms Gold a ram sable standing on a mount vert, and for his crest a demi-ram sable with horns silver.



Blattenberg puns on his name with

Silver a fesse gules and three mounts of green leaves (*Blätter*) in the chief. His crest is a linden tree in full leaf painted green.

Bartenstein carries these canting arms:



Azure two broad axes (*Barten*) silver with their helves gold on a mount silver. The crest is two silver axes with helves

gules fixed one on either side of the helm.

Pflegelsberg has a similar shield and crest ; Gules two flails (*Pflegel*) with golden handles and silver swiples on a green mount. Two like flails appear on the helm.



The punning coat of Wolfurt is Silver two running wolves azure with a ford (*Furt* represented by waves azure) in

the foot. The crest is a wolf's head azure, the skin being carried down to form the mantle of the helm.

Münch's arms are naturally enough a monk (*Münch*) in his proper colours in a silver field; and a monk cut off at the waist serves as his crest.

(3) Helmshoven's achievement, Gules a helm gold, with a like helm as the crest, shows with considerable detail the form of helm in use at the date at which the roll was made.

Aeschach displays Gules the head of a grayling (*Aesch*) silver, and his crest is the same fish's head with the scaly skin continued to form the mantle.

The arms of Facklastein are Silver a golden torch (*Fackel*) aflame, an interesting example of the rare bearing of metal on metal; two like torches are fixed upright on his helm for the crest.

Wasserburg carries the canting coat Gules three water-tubs silver, the crest being two like tubs with a bush of peacock's feathers in each.

Kürneg used Gules a point bendwise silver, and his fan crest with tufts of cock's feathers sable at the points of it is similarly coloured.



The little group of arms for names in which *Stube* (chamber) occurs is very curious.

Stuben has for arms Gules three windows azure with golden frames, and the crest is one such window set round with bunches of black cock's feathers.



Stubenweg's shield is Gules with a sitting dog silver, and he uses a crest of the same dog—not a hunting hound but the little pet dog that stays at home in my lady's chamber.

Stubenwid, more curiously still, has simply on his helm and sable shield the stove that warms his room, coloured silver with small red roundels to represent fire upon it.

The two families of Mandach have each a black man's head for crest and bear the one Sable a chief gules, the other Gules a chief silver with the negro's head in the chief of each.

Laubgassen's shield is Gold six linden leaves (*Lauben*) vert and a border gules; and the crest is a linden tree gold.

(4) The canting arms of Arbon are Silver an eagle (*Aar*) gules with golden beak and legs; and he has a red eagle's head and wings for his crest.

Heutler bears Sable a chief silver and a label gules which is thought to suggest a hay (*Heu*) rake by its shape. The white comb-shaped attachment at the back of his black swan's head crest has the same red label upon it.

Swangow places, as may be expected, a silver swan in his red shield and uses a swan's head for a crest.



Hirseg's punning coat is Gold a hart (*Hirsch*) gules climbing the jagged sides of a mountain azure. His crest is a demi-hart gules with golden antlers.

(5) Müller plays on his name with Azure a mill-wheel gold, and a like

wheel on a red cushion is his crest.

Russ has for his canting coat Silver three legs sable of a war-horse (*Ross*)



with silver hooves lying fessewise one above the other, and for his crest two like legs crooked at the knees.

The allusive character of Spiser's arms, Gules a mill-stone silver, with

which goes a like stone set round with cock's feathers as crest, is not very obvious until one remembers that it is by the grinding of mill-stones that grain is converted into food (*Speise*)!



More obscure still is the pun that Sulzberg's arms contain. The shield, Barry wavy azure and gold, must be

taken to typify the stream that flows from a salt (*Salz*) spring, and the same idea is conveyed by the strongly waved outer edges of the two golden horns that decorate the helm.

(6) Tor carries the canting arms Gules a gateway (*Thor*) silver with the doors flung open.

Stofen has Azure three cups (*Staufen*) gold.



Wasserstelz puns on his name with arms of Azure a fesse gold and three water-wagtails (*Wasserstelzen*) azure on the fesse.

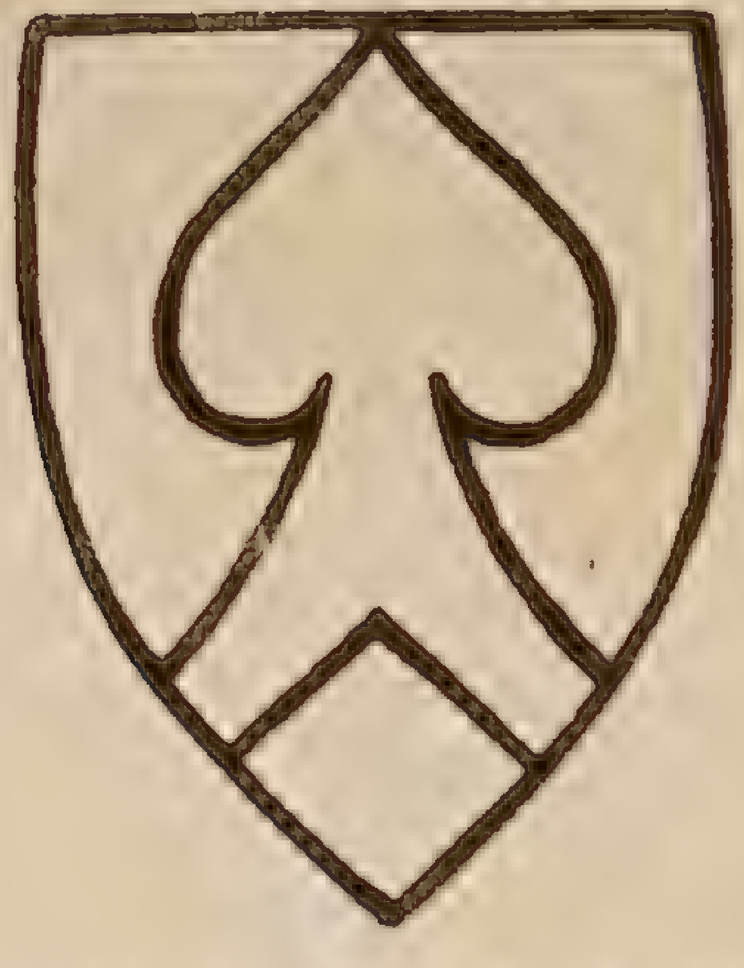
Many coats with beasts standing on

mounts belong to this group; such as Bärenfels, who displays Gold a bear sable erect on a mount vert, and Helfenstein, who has Gules an elephant silver standing on a mount gold.

Henneberg's coat, a well-known quartering of the Saxon duchies, is Gold a hen sable standing on a golden mount.

Rötenberg has Gold a mountain gules (*roth*).

Winterberg has the beautiful arms Sable three white snow-covered mountains.



Lobeg, with an eye to both syllables of his name, devised arms for himself

Silver a linden leaf (*Laube*) vert on a point (*Ecke*) gules.

(7) Grünstein uses the simple and expressive arms Barry of four pieces green and silver.

Turner has Gules a tower (*Thurn*) silver.

Laiterberg's shield is Silver two ladders (*Leiter*) gules crossed saltirewise.

Oberriedern bears Silver a boat sable with two golden oars (*Ruder*).

The sharply pointed panes in the arms of the princes of Teck, Lozengy



bendwise sable and gold, and Kunsegg's coat, which is the same in red and gold,

refer, as has been indicated above, to the latter part of these names.

(8) In End's arms, Azure a leopard rampant silver with his feet gold, the conspicuously coloured ends of the beast's legs pun on the family name.

The next illustration gives the early form of the strange bearings of Manesse, Gules two mail-clad fighting men. In later times one of the warriors is shown lying prostrate and vanquished at the feet of the other.

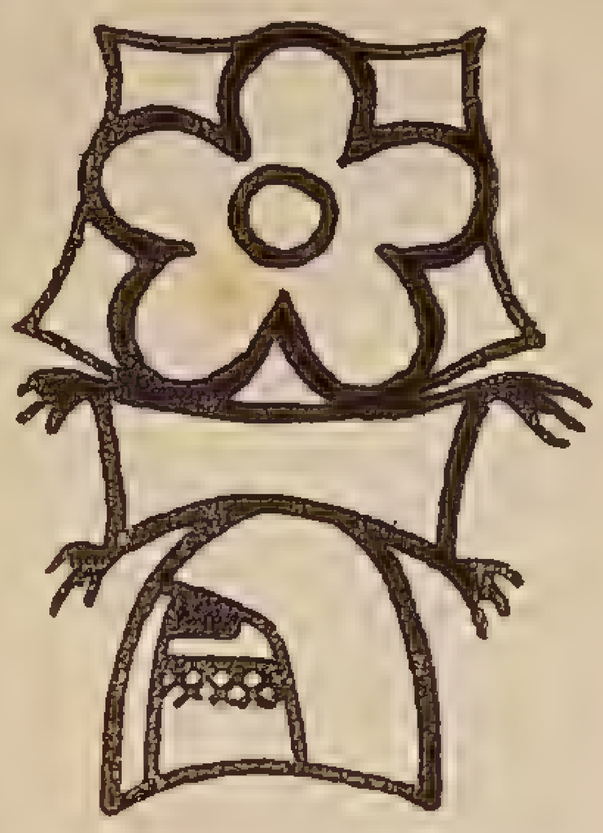


That sinister name could scarcely be better symbolized than by this signifi-

cant shield, for even these quaint placid

little figures of the Zürich artist seem to breathe the very spirit of war. Surely the first of those fierce maneaters who assumed it must have had in his mind some such biblical words as Isaiah's threatenings against the Assyrian foe—"the sword, not of a mean man, shall devour him."

(9) A few crests are literal translations of the name of the bearer. Such is Roseneck's red rose, for instance, with prominent green barbs on a golden cushion.



A rather larger number hint at the name.

Graber's crest is a grave-digger's spade of gold with a bunch of feathers at the point of it.

Küssenberg's is a red cushion (*Kissen*) with a golden cup upon it, while Kaplan has a green cap with a red ball atop. Lindenberg has a silver linden leaf for

his crest, and Fröwler displays the head of a woman (*Frau*) wearing a red hood lined with white.

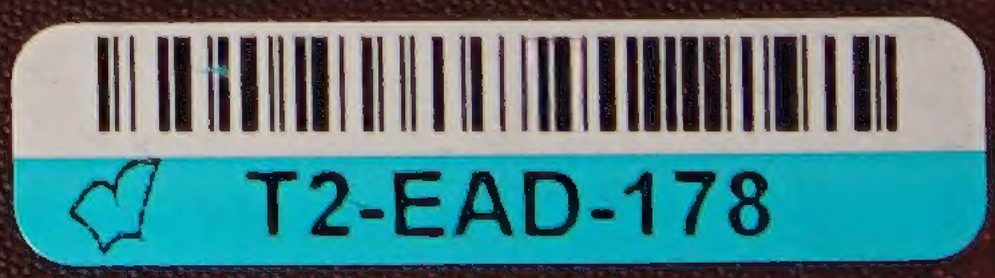


And so the interesting catalogue might be continued for many pages. But enough has perhaps been said to lift for a moment a corner of the curtain of the years, and to give a glimpse of bygone fashions and things long dead through the golden haze that even while it dims their outline wraps them in the charm and the glamour of antiquity and romance.

Printed by BUTLER & TANNER, *Frome and London.*

A/

April 1927


T2-EAD-178